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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Among the heroes and martyrs of the English Reformation none is more worthy of the historian's study than William Tyndale. The singular gaps in the records of his life, which have contributed to the popular neglect of Tyndale, remind one of the similar hiatus in our knowledge of Shakspere's career; the more because these two sixteenth-century leaders, different in every other respect, were alike in the depth of the impression they made on the English language at a critical stage of its development. It is known to scholars, but hardly to the general public, that the English New Testament of our own time is essentially the work of Tyndale. A comparison of his pioneer version with the later sixteenth-century translations and with the Authorized Version of 1611 shows conclusively that all the changes and improvements from Coverdale down to the American Revision are numerically far less than the phrases and sentences of the exiled scholar of the Reformation period. As one begins to perceive that our rich heritage of perfect phrases and melodious rhythm in the English Testament has descended, not from the bishops of 1611 or of 1558, but from this much-abused martyr of King Henry's reign, the wonder grows that his very name is strange to the ordinary Bible reader, and that his romantic history is all but forgotten. No less intrepid and original than his great predecessor Wiclif, he lived at a time when the new learning made possible a translation from the original tongues, and when the English language had become more flexible, richer in synonyms, and better fitted to render the Hebrew and Hellenic Greek idioms without violence. No less aflame with indignation against the abuses of the priesthood and the wrongs of the English people than was Wiclif, he entered upon his work at precisely the moment when the long-smoldering fires of reformation wanted but a spark to set them off in England, as they had been kindled in Germany by Luther's attack on Tetzel. It was Tyndale's Testament more than Henry's divorce or the minor ecclesiastical reforms of the bishops that started the English Reformation. It was Tyndale's words that were on men's lips in the dark days that followed; Tyndale's matchless rendering of the gospels that the martyrs recited in their dungeons and at the stake; Tyndale's bold doctrines of scriptural interpretation that saved England from the bibliolatry of German Protestantism after

Luther's death. Some of his ideas were too radical for the age. Modern writers who suggest, as if for the first time, that the translator of Scripture should avoid words of ecclesiastical connotation foreign to the original learn with surprise and admiration that Tyndale substituted "congregation" for "church," used "love" in 1 Corinthians, chap. 13, and anticipated other modern innovations in an age when such ideas were strange in England.

It has been often said that in this popularizing of the Scripture, as in other phases of his work, Tyndale simply copied Luther. We shall have to consider at length the direct and the indirect obligations of the English to the German reformer; and shall find large elements of indebtedness which none would have been freer to acknowledge than Tyndale himself, had the question been put to him by his friends rather than by his enemies.[1] But this may be said at the very outset, that to charge a man with "copying Luther" is to pay him a unique compliment, for a more original and inimitable person never lived than the good doctor of Wittenberg, to match whose countless whims and fancies and homely German idioms would be a task for a master-actor. If it be true that Tyndale, moved by Luther's spirit and aided by his genius, brought the gospel to the people of England in a way as suited to the English situation as Luther's was to the very different state of affairs in Germany, it can hardly be a detraction from his merits to acknowledge the relation. The facts have long been obscured by partisans, who have sought to prove either that Tyndale worked absolutely without aid, or that he was a mere camp-follower of the German reformers. Like many other questions touching the Reformation in England, this long-standing controversy over Tyndale's originality has been entangled in ecclesiastical side issues and historical mazes, with which the modern investigator need have little to do. A study of the sources is much more profitable than a fruitless attempt to balance the prejudiced or ignorant opinions of superficial historians.

The present inquiry is devoted to a neglected phase of the work of Tyndale, of much interest to the Old Testament scholar, and not without its bearing on English literary history. Having published his version of the New Testament, and several doctrinal treatises to be mentioned shortly, the reformer proceeded to begin a much larger enterprise, which unhappily he never completed—the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was issued in 1530. It is a rare book, of which only a few copies exist, and never reprinted until the careful and admirable edition of Dr.

[1] On Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 143–46, 209–12; Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 87, 88.

J. I. Mombert appeared in 1884.[1] This, the first English version from the Old Testament since the fourteenth century, possesses a peculiar interest for all students of the English Bible. When it appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge,[2] in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology. But England was a generation behind Germany in this, as she has since been in some other branches of sacred learning, and Tyndale, when he began his task of rendering the Old Testament into English, had no native precedents to follow. The interesting question arises: How far did he succeed in his aim? To what extent did he use the Hebrew in his version of the Pentateuch? Was he, as his detractors have declared, a mere dabbler in Semitic grammar, parading his etymologies of proper names to hide ignorance of the language itself, and depending almost entirely on the Vulgate and on Luther? Or was the father of our English New Testament also the father of English Hebrew scholarship, who, under many limitations, acquired in Germany an adequate mastery of the language, and made his own version independently and with scholarly discrimination?

That this is no trivial or academic question is shown by two facts: first, that Tyndale's Pentateuch is essentially our own Pentateuch in style and substance, and, so to speak, set the style of rendering Hebrew prose which, as carried out by later translators in the remainder of the Old Testament, has become the grand style for religious compositions in English; second, that, if tradition is to be given due weight, we are to attribute to Tyndale's hand, not only the Pentateuch, published during his lifetime, but the historical books from Joshua through Chronicles as they appeared in print for the first time in the so-called "Matthew's Bible," edited by the martyr John Rogers in 1536, and adopted by Coverdale a year later.[3] It is the testimony of early historians that Tyndale left these

[1] *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch.* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1884.)

[2] Robert Wakefield was the first incumbent. See *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

[3] See Demaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 478; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1484; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 295. Foxe's reference is as follows: "John Rogers brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to

books in manuscript, the work at least in part of his imprisonment, and that they were secretly conveyed to Rogers and issued by him. On this hypothesis we owe to Tyndale nearly the entire historical portion of the Old Testament, comprising more than one-half of the whole. In the absence of any proof of this tradition, it would be improper to base any independent argument upon these books; but the certainty that Tyndale carried his Hebrew studies beyond the Pentateuch, and pursued them with eagerness up to the very end of his life, justifies us in regarding him as more than a mere beginner and amateur in the language.

The inquiry is the more interesting because it has been neglected. The historians of the English Bible, devoting large space to Tyndale's New Testament, pass over his Pentateuch with scanty mention, as a minor episode in his career, of only incidental biographical interest. The New Testament, of course, lay nearest to his heart, and was the work by which his influence upon the course of events in England was chiefly exerted. In it he found the true doctrine of salvation with which he sought to displace the erroneous teachings of the church; in it he found the true constitution of the church, which in his controversial writings he set over against the abuses of the hierarchy, the "practice of prelates" which disgraced Christendom. But Tyndale held broad views of Scripture. In his thought the Bible was a progressive revelation, no part of which could be neglected by the Christian believer. In the lives of the patriarchs, the story of the exodus, the history of Israel, he saw innumerable parallels to the experiences of the believer and to the progress of the church; and these depended for their force, not on any allegorizing interpretation such as captivated many of the later reformers, but on a just appreciation of the true relation between sacred and modern history.[1] He deprecated all attempts to veil the historical sense of the Scripture in elaborate mystical metaphor. For him, as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories from which the Christian might

be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country). In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue, which is intituled: The Translation of Thomas Mathew."

[1] For his view of biblical allegories and their legitimate exposition, one of the pithiest passages in his writings, see the *Preface to Leviticus* (Mombert, p. 294).

learn as from other biography, with added force because of the relation of these ancient worthies to events supreme in their sacred significance. The marginal notes which so scandalized Sir Thomas More and Tyndale's other enemies, lacking, as they sometimes are, in good taste, as when he appends to the inspired text sarcastic flings at the Pope and the bishops, convey to the modern reader a sense of reality and candor.[1] Here was a man for whom the Bible was a living book, in vital touch with the affairs of distant ages, having its lessons for priest and plowman, king and subject, master and servant, saint and sinner. As contrasted with the older exegetes and with the post-Reformation reactionary school, Tyndale stands revealed to us as in many respects a modern of the moderns in his attitude toward the older Scriptures.

Holding such a view of the meaning of the law and the prophets of Israel, he certainly did not look upon his arduous task of translating the Old Testament as an irksome undertaking, to be got through with in the easiest way possible, merely to complete his version of the Bible. Rather did he regard this great undertaking as the crowning achievement of his life, and gave to it all the learning and enthusiasm with which he carried through the earlier works of his exile. When the news came to him at Vilvorde that his days were numbered, and he faced death with his task more than half undone, it must have been the bitterest disappointment to him to know that the matchless poetry of the Psalms, the pleadings and warnings and promises of the prophets, must be rendered by other hands than his. History has shown that his successors were capable of carrying on the work in the same large spirit with which he began it, falling naturally into the style which he originated; so that the English Old Testament, as we have it, shows no break, but is essentially a literary unit. But the fact that the men who gave us the English Psalms and Proverbs and Isaiah could doubtless have translated the historical books as well as Tyndale, had his version never been begun, should not lead us to belittle the worth of that beginning, nor to underrate its influence on the subsequent history of our Bible.

We shall inquire, first, under what circumstances Tyndale gained his knowledge of Hebrew; second, what sources he used in his version of the Pentateuch and to what extent his work was original; third, what influence his version exerted upon later translations and upon English literature. These are the three phases of the subject upon which there has been most controversy among those writers who have dealt with the matter at all, and upon which no agreement has been reached. The uncertainty which

[1] See Demaus, p. 238.

still prevails is due in part to scanty evidence, in part to preconceived theories.[1]

It will be desirable, before considering the first question, to introduce an outline of Tyndale's life, to serve as a groundwork for chronological references. The sources are not abundant. Foxe's account in the *Acts and Monuments* is the basis of all the later narratives. While biographers accept large portions of it as authentic, they reject certain statements which conflict with other sources, with less hesitation because of Foxe's well-known inaccuracy in matters of historical data. To Foxe must be added the indirect evidence in the controversial works of Sir Thomas More directed against Tyndale, a voluminous correspondence preserved in the English state papers bearing upon the attempts first to apprehend Tyndale, and afterward to induce him to return to England as a tool of the ministry; and a few scanty but interesting hints in the Belgian state papers relating to the imprisonment and trial. Autobiographical references in Tyndale's own writings are the most important of all, but these are unfortunately too rare and ambiguous to give much assistance in correcting the romancing instinct of Foxe and filling the large gaps left by existing documents. The materials have been worked up in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, and similar works; but most elaborately and impartially in the standard biography by R. Demaus (London, 1871), which has not been superseded and is not likely to be. It is based upon a careful study of the sources, and is marked by judicious, but not intemperate, admiration of the great reformer. Mr. Demaus had access to many manuscript records not known to the earlier biographers, spent years in the unraveling of ingenious clues, and produced what will probably continue to be the authoritative life. For the study of Tyndale's New Testament in its historical and bibliographical phases there is a much larger body of literature, including bibliographical collations, facsimiles, reprints, etc. But for his life, particularly his work on the Old Testament, not much can be added to the list given above. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LVII, p. 428) by Edward Irving Carlyle is longer than that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or other general works of reference, but contains no new material, and appears to be based chiefly on Demaus.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire[2] between 1480 and 1490. The date 1484 assumed by Demaus rests upon general considera-

[1] On the subject of Tyndale's Hebrew Scholarship see Demaus, pp. 217, 233–37; Mombert, p. lxxxvi; *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500, 562, an unsigned review of Mombert's book. [2] Foxe, "About the Borders of Wales" (p. 1075).

tions rather than upon direct evidence. Of his early life next to nothing is known. He was sent to Oxford, entered in Magdalen Hall perhaps about 1504, and spent some years in the university, winning the bachelor's and master's degrees. This was the period when the mediæval seclusion of Oxford was being invaded by disciples of the new learning from the continent, and Greek studies were enthusiastically prosecuted by the younger men. Grocyn and Linacre were teaching the classic Greek; Latimer and Colet lectured on the Greek Testament. The influence of Colet, particularly of his lectures on the Pauline epistles, must be regarded as fundamental in forming the opinions of young Tyndale. In 1510 Erasmus of Rotterdam began his five years of residence at the sister University of Cambridge, whither Tyndale went to continue his studies. Here he imbibed the bold and radical views of the great Dutch scholar, whose contempt for the obscurantist policy of the church led him into utterances that aroused the hostility of the authorities. Demaus suggests that Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures may have been incited, or at least strengthened, by the views of Erasmus as expressed in a famous passage of his works.

How long Tyndale remained at Cambridge is not certain. By 1521, if not earlier, he returned to his native county of Gloucester to serve as tutor and chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh.[1] Even in this remote country parish his radical opinions excited controversy among the neighboring clergy, and he was rebuked by the chancellor of the diocese.[2] It was during the two years spent there that his plan of translating the New Testament took form. In this purpose he was not moved by the example of Luther; for Luther's translation did not appear until 1522, and Tyndale can hardly have known much of Luther's plans prior to this time. Rather was this great purpose based on a conviction that reformation of the church in England must come in large part through enlightenment of the common people, who could not read the Vulgate and were kept in ignorance by the clergy. It was in controversy with a learned man of the community, says Foxe, that Tyndale uttered his famous promise: "I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."[3]

In 1523 the young scholar, full of enthusiasm and hope, departed for London, where he expected to secure the patronage of the new bishop, Tunstal, a man known to be interested in the Greek studies of Erasmus

[1] Foxe spells the name Welche (p. 1075).

[2] Foxe, p. 1075.

[3] Foxe, p. 1076.

and More. His reception was unfavorable. The bishop, whatever his academic sympathies may have been, was an uncompromising opponent of the Lutheran doctrines then spreading through England, and dismissed Tyndale without encouragement. Having failed to secure recognition for his project from the man who seemed the most likely ecclesiastic in England to afford such help, he saw that he must work henceforth independently and in secret. For some months he resided in London with a wealthy merchant, to whom he had been introduced by Latimer, Humphrey Monmouth. In Monmouth's household he found that sympathy which had been denied him at the episcopal palace, met many learned men, and made some progress in his studies. Having learned that he could not with safety issue his translation in his native land, he left London in May, 1524, for Germany. Henceforth he was an exile; and his great work for the English nation was wrought in a foreign land, aided by foreign scholars, recognized during his lifetime only by the faithful Monmouth and a small group of courageous Englishmen who were later numbered among the humbler leaders of the English Reformation.

Reaching Hamburg, he lost no time in journeying to the Saxon city of Wittenberg to see Luther.[1] He arrived at this Mecca of reformers at a somewhat inopportune time for personal intercourse with the apostle of German Protestantism. Luther was in the midst of the busiest period of his career, when the land was torn asunder with the struggle known as the Peasants' War, and with the political upheaval consequent upon the contest between Leo X and the German states. Luther had published his New Testament two years before, and was now issuing controversial pamphlets, preaching in the university church, and working on his Old Testament. Nothing is definitely known of the personal relations of the English visitor with his German colleague. Those who deny that Tyndale made any use of Luther's labors go so far as to reject altogether the statements of early writers as to this visit to Wittenberg, but without sufficient reason. Assuming that these contemporary accounts are correct, Tyndale must have enjoyed in the university town a measure of quiet and sympathy which enabled him to make rapid progress with his version of the New Testament. Hebrew and Greek had been taught in the university for years. Disciples of Johann Reuchlin, the father of German Hebraists, were to be found there, as well as Greek scholars and theologians. During the nine or ten months of his sojourn Tyndale

[1] Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue, Confutation;* Cochlæus, *Commentarii de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1076. Demaus, pp. 94–97. *Contra*, Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24 ff.

probably began his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, facilities for which were greater at Wittenberg than at Hamburg, Cologne, or Worms—cities where he spent the following years. For at Wittenberg he might have the assistance in his Hebrew studies of Christian scholars; while in the other cities he must depend chiefly or entirely upon Jewish instructors, many of whom were still suspicious of Christians desiring their aid.

With the help of his amanuensis, William Roye, an eccentric person who gave him more trouble than his work was worth, Tyndale translated the New Testament in less than a year. Believing it to be impolitic to have his work bear the imprint of a Wittenberg printer, and so expose it at the start to the censorship of German and English enemies, he removed to Cologne, after a trip to Hamburg to receive a remittance of funds from Monmouth. The printing of the book at Cologne was interrupted by the discovery of his project through the investigations of Cochlæus, an agent of the church. With the sheets of the first part of the book, Tyndale and Roye hurried away in time to escape arrest, and resumed the enterprise in the safer refuge of the city of Worms, already a center of the Protestant movement. Here, from the press of Peter Schoeffer, was issued in 1526 the octavo Testament of Tyndale. The quarto sheets of the earlier portion brought from Cologne were also, it is believed, completed in that form, by Schoeffer or some other printer, and thus two editions were put into circulation. The only complete copies now in existence, however, are all of the octavo edition. Buschius states that six thousand copies of the Testament were printed at Worms,[1] and this has been supposed to include both editions. Of these six thousand only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant.

Within a few months of its publication, Tyndale's anonymous translation reached England. In the spring of 1526 it was secretly circulated in large numbers. Coming soon to the notice of the authorities, it was condemned by Tunstal and others, at first without knowledge of its authorship, regarded simply as the work of the Lutherans, whose activity was becoming notorious. The burning of such copies as could be seized did not retard its circulation. An unauthorized reprint by Christopher of Endhoven at Antwerp[2] helped to swell the supply needed to meet the growing demand. Desperate attempts were made in England to buy up and destroy all copies that could be found. This brisk demand merely moved the Dutch printers to issue still another edition. Their two editions are said by George Joye to have numbered about five thousand copies. The

[1] Spalatinus' Diary in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 231.

[2] Demaus, p. 157.

investigations set on foot by Tunstal and Wolsey finally succeeded in fixing the responsibility for the translation upon Tyndale and Roye. But Roye, already separated from his master because of his erratic habits, had been lost track of, and Tyndale managed for the time to elude the emissaries of the English prelates.

In 1527 he left Worms. Direct evidence of his residence for the next two years is lacking. For reasons of prudence he took care to keep his movements secret. It has been assumed, however, by biographers, from certain indications, that he made his home in the university town of Marburg, a center of Reformation influence second only to Wittenberg itself.[1] Here, in common with other reformers, he would enjoy the powerful protection of the Protestant Landgraf Philip of Hesse-Cassel, and the advantages of the new Protestant University of Marburg founded by that ruler. Here also there was a printing establishment less likely to be invaded by English spies than those at Cologne and Worms, conducted by Hans Luft.[2] Among his associates here was the learned Hermann Buschius, whom he had already met at Worms, and whose testimony to his learning is worthy of note.[3] Another illustrious man whom Tyndale probably met at Marburg was the Scottish protomartyr Patrick Hamilton, who spent a few months there in 1527 with three companions.

In the following spring, May 8, 1528, Tyndale issued from the press of Hans Luft his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, a work on the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, treating of the duties of a Christian citizen in his religious, family, social, and civic relations. Of the contents of these important works, and their bearing upon the English Reformation, this is not the place to speak.

During 1529 the attacks on Tyndale from English sources increased in violence. In particular the pamphlet campaign of Sir Thomas More against him began; a controversy which was renewed several years later and led to some of Tyndale's ablest polemic writings. During that year Tyndale visited Antwerp, presumably in connection with arrangements for promoting the exportation of his New Testament and other works. It happened that More and Tunstal were then on the continent assisting in the negotiation of the Treaty of Cambray; and Tunstal went

[1] Demaus, chap. vii.

[2] Dr. Mombert attempts to show that "Malborow in the land of Hesse" is not Marburg, but a pseudonym for Wittenberg. He presents arguments tending to show that Hans Luft was never in Marburg. See his preface, p. xxix. Cf., *contra*, *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

[3] P. 22.

to Antwerp in the hope of seizing some of Tyndale's Testaments. As in the former case, the purchase of a large supply for confiscation was easily effected, but the publication of further editions was thereby made possible. There is uncertainty as to Tyndale's movements during 1529. Foxe relates[1] that the translator sailed from Antwerp for Hamburg, was wrecked, with the loss of all his books and manuscripts, reached Hamburg by another ship, and spent some months there, from Easter to December, translating, with Coverdale's aid, the entire Pentateuch. The reference to Coverdale is not accepted as very important by biographers, as Coverdale could hardly have aided Tyndale in the actual task of translation, being at that time but slightly acquainted with Hebrew. The entire incident is believed by Demaus[1] to be confused or misdated, as it conflicts with the Antwerp anecdote about Tunstal, which is placed in the late summer of 1529. Demaus thinks it probable that, instead of going to Hamburg at this time, Tyndale returned to Marburg; and, if so, may have been present at the famous debate between Luther and Zwingli upon the eucharist, which led to the final separation between the German and the Swiss reformers.

Whether the work of translating the Pentateuch was accomplished at Hamburg or at Marburg, it was completed by the latter part of 1529; for the Genesis bears the imprint of Hans Luft, the Marburg printer, under date of January 17, 1530. The Pentateuch was not printed as a whole, but the several books appear to have been issued at brief intervals, perhaps in two groups, which were bound together. Genesis and Numbers are in black-letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in roman type. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this diversity of type. Some have supposed that the three books in roman were published in some other city, but Demaus finds that all five books have the same form, the same style of ornamental title-pages, and the same paper. Each book has an introduction, marginal notes, and a glossary of Hebrew words and proper names containing the etymology of these terms as understood by the translator.

Having seen his Pentateuch safely through the press, Tyndale entered upon the most important of his controversial works, *The Practice of Prelates*. This was an attack upon the hierarchy, particularly the Pope and the English bishops, in which their excesses and extortions were satirically compared with the simplicity of the New Testament church polity. Wolsey came in for special denunciation for his selfish ambition, not alone from

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

[2] P. 229.

the point of view of an ecclesiastical reformer, but considered from Tyndale's position as a partiot and still loyal supporter of the king.

The attacks of Sir Thomas More upon Tyndale were instigated by Tunstal, who wrote to him March 7, 1528,[1] requesting that he undertake the defense of the Catholic faith against Lutheran heretics. More was the most learned man in England, a Greek scholar, friend of Erasmus and Colet, author of *Utopia*, a defender hitherto of liberal principles in religion and government. The singular contrast between his previous career and the bitterness and narrowness displayed by him toward his exiled fellow-countryman, Tyndale, is one of the puzzles of literary history. The first volume of this controversy, *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight . . . . wherein he treated divers matters . . . . with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, appeared in June, 1529, just before More left for Cambray. Tyndale worked on his reply during 1530 and published it at Amsterdam in 1531. More answered in 1532 with his *Confutation*, following this up with passages in the *Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, the *Apology*, and the *Answer to the Poisoned Book*. Much of More's bitterness was due to Tyndale's mistaken charge that the lord chancellor had been moved by mercenary motives in undertaking the task of defending the church against the reformers. The subject-matter of the volumes on both sides covers the whole field of the Reformation dogmas, the alleged abuses of the church, and the merits and defects of Tyndale's version. Notwithstanding More's superior learning in general history and politics, and the great advantage he possessed because of his official position and his intimate acquaintance with the rapidly changing internal affairs of England, he was unquestionably worsted in the argument. In his later works he shows that he himself felt this, and from urbane controversy he descends to vulgar and malicious abuse.

Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* had laid down principles in regard to the supremacy of the state over the church in all civil affairs which now became popular in court circles at home. For Wolsey had been superseded by Thomas Cromwell, and it was Cromwell's plan to assert the rights of the king against the claims of the Pope. This new premier, only superficially acquainted with Tyndale's writings, believed that a pamphleteer so acute and eloquent might render valuable service in this campaign. He therefore, without full consultation with the king, directed the envoy at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, to ascertain on what terms Tyndale would return to England. It appears that this was not a scheme to entrap Tyndale and then put him out of the way, but a genuine

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 711; Demaus, p. 263.

attempt to bring him back as an ally in the new policy inaugurated by Cromwell. Vaughan, after some correspondence with Tyndale, had three interviews with him at Antwerp during the early months of 1531, and was completely won over by the evident sincerity and power of the supposed heretic. He could not, however, persuade the exile to risk his liberty and his life by setting foot in England, where More and Tunstal were still breathing out slaughter against him. Meantime Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* having come to the notice of Cromwell and of his royal master, the situation suddenly changed. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was a pleasing book in a king's ears. *The Practice of Prelates* was rank heresy and treason. Cromwell, by Henry's command, made Vaughan cease his efforts to enlist Tyndale in the king's service. Before long Vaughan was superseded at Antwerp by a man of another stamp, Sir Thomas Elyot, and the attitude toward Tyndale became one of hostility. But for a time the exile evaded his enemies.

During that year, 1531, he translated and published a translation of the book of Jonah, with a prologue. Subsequently he suspended his translation work in order to enter upon the task of expounding the Scripture. In 1531 appeared his exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532, after he had left Antwerp, and while he was roaming from one German city to another, an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount was published. This was to some extent based on Luther's homilies on the same portion of Scripture, but was nevertheless an original work. In 1533 there was published anonymously at Nuremberg a treatise entitled *The Supper of the Lord . . . . wherein incidentally More's letter against John Fryth is confuted.* This is attributed to Tyndale; it is an exposition of the sixth chapter of John. Written to defend Tyndale's friend John Fryth, now under arrest in England, it was without avail. Fryth, who had been with Tyndale on the continent much of the time since 1528, and was his closest companion, was tried, condemned, and suffered martyrdom July 4, 1533.

The vigor of the pursuit of Tyndale having now temporarily abated, he settled again in Antwerp, and spent about two years there quietly, busy with the revision of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. New editions of both were issued in 1534. In the revised edition of the Pentateuch the textual changes were confined to the book of Genesis.[1] Some alterations were made in the glossaries and prologues. The revision of the New Testament was radical and extensive. Prologues and marginal notes were also added. This revised edition was preceded by an unauthorized and garbled edition of the Testament by Tyndale's former friend,

[1] See a collation of these alterations in Mombert, p. ciii.

George Joye, who introduced a few changes for doctrinal reasons, and sought a scholar's credit for a piece of literary piracy. It led to a bitter controversy between him and Tyndale. Early in 1535 Tyndale had a second revision ready for the press, but was arrested before its publication.

The plot by which the great translator fell into the hands of his enemies was not instigated by King Henry nor by the dominant party in England, now by no means ill disposed toward him. It was rather the work of the Catholic reactionaries, foiled in their attempt to prevent Henry's breach with Rome, and furious against Tyndale as one of the leaders in the Protestant movement, as he was also the most defenseless. Betrayed through the treachery of a supposed friend, Henry Philips, he was arrested in the streets of Antwerp by the officers of the Emperor Charles V, and imprisoned in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles away. The date of his arrest is fixed by a document still in the archives at Brussels at about May 23, 1535.

Efforts were made to save him from the heretic's fate. His friend Thomas Poyntz, at whose house he had resided for a year, risked his own life in the vain attempt to change the determination of the authorities. Cromwell, when appealed to, used some pressure to obtain the same end, but failed. The trial, before a special commission, occupied several months in 1536. Tyndale answered the elaborate charges of his prosecutors with ability and eloquence, but the conclusion was foregone. In midsummer sentence of death was passed upon him. During his prison life he pursued his studies so far as he was able. A Latin letter written by him to the governor of the prison, requesting warmer clothing, candles, and the use of his Hebrew books, is still extant. On October 6, 1536, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, being first strangled and then burned.[1]

Having before us this outline of Tyndale's life, the first question bearing upon the subject of this paper is: Where and how did he learn Hebrew?

The answer to this question must be wholly inferential. Tyndale, so far as can be judged from the history of his early life, knew nothing of Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524. He was to some extent acquainted with Hebrew before writing *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in the spring of 1528. He translated the Pentateuch in 1529. This fixes the period of his first Hebrew studies upon which his translation was based between 1524 and 1528.

[1] Foxe tells, in much detail, the story of the arrest, imprisonment, and efforts to save Tyndale's life (pp. 1077–79).

Between his arrival in Germany in 1524 and his arrest in 1535, Tyndale spent his time in the following cities, so far as can be discovered or surmised:

Hamburg:	May, 1524
Wittenberg:	May, 1524–April, 1525
Hamburg:	April, 1525
Cologne:	April–September, 1525
Worms:	October, 1525–. . . . (?) 1527
Marburg(?):	. . . . 1527–August, 1529
Antwerp:	August, 1529
Hamburg(?):	 1529
Marburg:	December, 1529–. . . . 1530
Antwerp:	1531–1535

Since his stay at Hamburg in May, 1524, and again in April, 1525, was brief, and the period of not more than five months spent at Cologne was occupied with the printing of the unfinished quarto New Testament, Tyndale learned his Hebrew in Wittenberg, Worms, and Marburg. Inasmuch as the early months of his stay at Wittenberg must have been chiefly occupied with the translation of the New Testament, not to mention the acquisition of the German language, we may probably place the earliest date of his Hebrew studies in the beginning of 1525; and inasmuch as the translation of the Pentateuch must have occupied the most of 1529, the study of the language preparatory to that task can hardly have continued much beyond 1528. This leaves four years during which Tyndale may have labored steadily or at intervals upon the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures. But there is evidence that by the second year of this period he had already made much progress in the language. Herman Buschius, one of the group of German Humanists which included Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and other leaders in the revival of learning, met Tyndale at Worms before August 11, 1526, and told Spalatin that the Englishman who translated the New Testament was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."[1] We must allow for some exaggeration in this statement, since it is highly improbable that Tyndale could actually converse with any fluency in Hebrew, and unlikely that he had much fluency in the Italian and Spanish. But the words of Buschius, recorded by a disinterested third person, certainly show that Tyndale had made more than a beginning in Hebrew when he had been in Worms only about nine months. We are led therefore to assume a period of elementary study at Wittenberg during the latter months of his

[1] Diary of Spalatinus, printed in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 431.

stay there (January-April, 1525); a partial interruption, possibly, during the busy period of getting the New Testament to press at Cologne and Worms (April-December, 1525); a renewed study, under Jewish guidance, at Worms during 1526 and part of the following year; and a further period of study in a university atmosphere with scholarly associates at Marburg, 1527–29.

It will now be necessary to examine the evidence for the theory above outlined as to the time and places of Tyndale's Hebrew studies. That he knew no Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524, is to be inferred from three considerations. First, Hebrew was not taught at Oxford or Cambridge prior to that time. Second, in the absence of Christian teachers at the universities, Tyndale, so far as we can judge, had no opportunity of learning from Jewish instructors during his sojourn in London (1523–24). There is no evidence that any impulse had yet reached England from the enthusiastic campaign of Hebrew study in Germany started by the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. Third, there is no evidence that copies of the *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of Reuchlin (1506) or other grammatical manuals had reached England during Tyndale's residence at the universities. So we conclude, in the absence of any proof or contemporary hint to the contrary, that neither from Christians, Jews, nor books did Tyndale learn anything of Hebrew in England.

Evidence of the progress of Tyndale's Hebrew studies, in addition to the testimony of Buschius in the summer of 1526, is found in the two doctrinal treatises published in the spring of 1528, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man.*

In *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* appears this remark on the word "Mammon":

> First, Mammon is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods, namely all superfluity, and all that is above necessity and that which is required unto our necessary uses wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself: for *hamon* in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or aboundance of money, and therehence cometh *mahamon* or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches.[1]

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* is this comment on the Hebrew idiom:

> St. Jerome also translated the Bible into the mother tongue, why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue

[1] *The Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 103.

agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin.[1]

With reference to the places where Tyndale learned Hebrew and the sources of his knowledge many inferential conclusions can be drawn from the well-known history of the Talmud controversy which ushered in the Reformation.

Johann Reuchlin was the first German Christian to study Hebrew. Born at Pforzheim in 1455, educated in Greek at Paris and Basel, he became a teacher of the classics, though also practicing the profession of law. In middle life, after a brilliant career in diplomatic service, he began the serious study of Hebrew with Loans, the Jewish physician to the emperor Frederick III. In 1498 at Rome he continued these studies with another learned Jew, Obadiah Sforno. Returning to Germany, he began to teach the language to the many eager humanists at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and other cities where the Greek learning was already cultivated. In 1506 he issued his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, the first Hebrew grammar in a European language for the use of Christians, if we except the brief and imperfect sketch published in 1503 by Conrad Pellicanus, who had learned something of the language by working over Hebrew manuscripts almost without instruction. In 1512 Reuchlin issued the Hebrew text of the penitential Psalms with grammatical notes. He was regarded as the most learned Hebraist in Germany, though during the first decade of the century numerous competent scholars had followed his example and studied the language under the guidance of learned Jews in Germany, Italy, and France.

When therefore in 1509 an attack on the Jews and confiscation of their books were planned by certain of the Dominican monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, it was to Reuchlin that the emperor, Maximilian, referred this subject to investigate and report. His reply, defending the Jewish books against the charge of insulting Christianity, angered his enemies beyond measure. A controversy ensued which lasted for six years, and ultimately involved all the representative men of Germany on one side or the other; the Humanists siding with Reuchlin in defense of the Jews, the ecclesiastics and many of the university faculties against him. Though Reuchlin escaped condemnation in the proceedings brought against him for his refusal to recant, he suffered much abuse and material

[1] *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Parker Society edition, 1848), p. 148.

losses for his stand. It was the indignation aroused among the liberals by the bigotry displayed in this controversy, together with the satires of the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which prepared the way for the Lutheran Reformation.

The bearing of this Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy upon the general introduction of Hebrew instruction into German universities is obvious. When the young Humanists, hitherto content with the newly discovered riches of the Greek classics, found themselves forbidden by the obscurantist party in the church to read the dangerous Jewish works or to attempt to study the Old Testament in the original, that was the very thing they were the most eager to do. Accordingly, the natural course of events was hastened; the Hebrew instruction, which under normal conditions might have taken a generation to spread through the universities, and become popular, sprang at once into a place second only to Greek. The demand for teachers sent many men to Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, Pellicanus, and the other pioneers, for grounding in the hitherto despised language. Textbooks were issued in rapid succession.[1]

Thus, when Tyndale reached Germany, Hebrew was no longer a novelty in the centers of learning. Reuchlin was dead, but his younger associates and pupils were fairly well equipped to carry on his work.

[1] The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim)
1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
1513–1521. Guidaccerius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
1524. Münster, Sabastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeaeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreviatio* (Lyons).
1529. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraae* (Marburg)

Chairs of Hebrew existed at Heidelberg, Wittenberg,[1] and perhaps at others of the universities, while one was established at the new University of Marburg about the time of Tyndale's arrival there.

When Tyndale, in the year 1529, set about the work of translating the Pentateuch, his equipment for the task was by no means meager. He had, first of all, acquired facility in the difficult art of translation by his New Testament. In that task he had chosen the style which seemed best fitted for rendering the Scriptures—a style so simple in its structure, so close to the paratactic quality of Hellenic Greek, that it is well-nigh transparent. The reader imagines he is reading the one inevitable, obvious sentence which alone could render the original into English; and not until it is compared with the painful artificialities of modern attempts to translate the New Testament into contemporary speech, not until the scholar compares Tyndale's Testament with the current English of the early Tudor period, is the full significance of this first modern version perceived. Those who are never content to leave a writer more than the merest vestige of originality point to Wiclif's version, and seek by parallel columns to demonstrate Tyndale's heavy indebtedness of Wiclif. It is not to be denied that manuscript copies of Wiclif's Testament circulated freely as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, and that Tyndale was, of course, familiar with it. Neither can it be denied that in the choice of words, notwithstanding the obsolete diction of the earlier translator, Tyndale was often content to adopt phrases that commended themselves to him. No friend of Tyndale needs to exalt him by depreciating Wiclif. But Tyndale expressly declares that he was not dependent on his predecessor, making his own translation throughout rather than revising the old.[2]

On the question of Tyndale's English style as a translator we have fortunately a considerable basis for comparison in his voluminous doctrinal, controversial, and expository works. As might be expected, in these writings the sentences are longer, the rhetorical balance more elaborate; but both in invective and in exhortation, in the biting epigram and the eloquent homily, we find evidence of that genius for cadences and rhythmic flow of syllables which marks our English Bible above all other works of English prose. The only writers of his age in whom we find this style

[1] Among the Hebraists in Luther's circle at Wittenberg were Matthæus Aurogallus, Johann Forster, Bernhard Ziegler, and George Rörer. See Buchwald, *Doktor Martin Luther*, p. 321.

[2] "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like another in the Scripture beforetime" ("Epistle to the Reader," subjoined to the New Testament).

developed, with its nice balance of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon words and syntax, are Latimer, in his sermons, for the short sentence and pithy phrase, and Cranmer, translator of the larger part of the *Prayer Book* for the rhythms. It was not the common style of learned men in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More shows few traces of it. He writes a Latinized English without flexibility and without melody. The English version of the *Utopia* is, of course, not by More at all, but by one Ralph Robinson, and belongs to the following generation.

This style of Tyndale's, which set the fashion for Coverdale and all his successors, owes not a little of its charm to the fact that it was shaped in its phrasing by the loose syntactical structure of the Greek Testament. It is to be noted that among the numerous translations of the Early Tudor period those from the French—for example, Lord Berners' version of Froissart—most nearly approach this style of Tyndale's; and for the obvious reason that the translator in each case happened to be too good a scholar to paraphrase in Latinized periods a narrative told in short words and co-ordinate clauses. We have but to compare Tyndale at his worst—that is, in his most vehement tirades against More—with the typical pamphlets and formal correspondence of Henry's reign, to feel instantly the individuality of the man and his feeling for the new English prose that had so lately come into being.

If this was the first and one of the most important of Tyndale's qualifications, when he undertook the translation of the Pentateuch, a second was his Hebrew studies, already referred to. The apparatus at his command can be estimated with some approach to probability.

For Hebrew grammar he had at his command the considerable number of textbooks enumerated above, of which those by Reuchlin (1506), Münster (1520), and the two published at Wittenberg by the leading Hebraists there, Boeschenstein (1518) and Aurigallus (1525), were probably his chief authorities, since they would naturally be the most accessible.

For lexicons he had the vocabulary accompanying Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* (1506), Sebastian Münster's *Lexicon hebraicum chaldaicum* (Basel, 1508, 1523), and perhaps Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529).

For the Hebrew text there was no want of printed editions. At least five had been printed in Italy and Spain since 1488, the most popular of which was that of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1517. This included the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, of which Tyndale is supposed by some editors to have made occasional use.

For the Vulgate there were, of course, many printed editions. Of the

Septuagint, editions were to be found in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), the Aldine edition (1518), and the Strasburg edition of 1526.

Luther's translation of the five books of Moses, the first part of his Old Testament, appeared in 1523, and was of course constantly before Tyndale in his work.

The question arises whether Tyndale had with him in Germany a manuscript of the Wiclifite Old Testament by Nicholas de Hereford or its revision by John Purvey, or whether such resemblances as can be traced between these early versions and his are either accidental or due to recollections of a version familiar to him in his youth. These resemblances are much less numerous than in the New Testament, where there is no possible doubt that Tyndale used Wiclif's work. If Foxe's story of the shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg in 1529 be accepted,[1] we must conclude that any such manuscript of either of the fourteenth-century Old Testament versions, even if Tyndale originally had one and used it in his first draft of Deuteronomy, was lost in that disaster; and it does not seem likely that it could be promptly replaced by friends in England in time to be used in the work on the Pentateuch.

We come now to the central problem of this inquiry: To what extent did Tyndale use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch?

This question is to be decided only by a comparison of his version with the original, with the Vulgate, with Luther's version, and with Hereford's and Purvey's. It is not so easy of settlement as prejudiced writers on either side have attempted to prove. If his authorship of the books from Joshua to Chronicles in Rogers' and Coverdale's Bibles could be assumed, we should have a larger basis for induction. The Pentateuch consists so largely of straightforward narrative, in which alternative renderings of the Masoretic text are seldom possible; it has so few obscurities as compared with the poetical and prophetic books, that we may diligently compare many chapters in Tyndale, Luther, and the Vulgate, as the present writer has done, without being able to find a single datum for our inquiry. On the other hand, there are in the Pentateuch certain well-known difficulties, due either to rare words, poetic diction, or a corrupt text, which afford a more promising field for such study.

It would be manifestly impracticable to present here in parallel columns the several versions of the entire Pentateuch, or of an entire book. Four-fifths of such material would yield negative results. The method chosen, after a comparison of the entire Pentateuch in the manner indicated, is to select such chapters as offer tangible evidence upon one side or the other—

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

Tyndale's originality on the one hand, his dependence on the Vulgate and Luther on the other hand. Words and phrases presenting variations deemed significant for one reason or another are quoted, with their equivalents in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the two Wiclifite versions, and Luther's version. The first chapter of Genesis is given entire, as a fair specimen of straight narrative prose, and the number and character of data for our inquiry to be found in such prose. Isolated passages from Genesis present further typical examples. From the three considerable poetic pieces in the Pentateuch, Genesis, chap. 49, Deuteronomy, chaps. 32 and 33, are taken such passages as show facts bearing on the discussion; affording, by reason of their difficulties, more numerous tangible instances of dependence or independence than any other portion of the material.

For the Hebrew the Masoretic text is given; for the Septuagint, Swete's text;[1] for the Vulgate, the standard Vatican edition, from a copy printed at Frankfort in 1829 collated with a Venetian edition of 1478 (Newberry Library); for Hereford and Purvey, the edition of the Wiclif Bible by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850); for Luther, a Bible printed at Frankfort in 1583, now in the Newberry Library; for Tyndale, the critical reprint edited by Dr. J. I. Mombert (New York, 1884), the only reprint ever made of Tyndale's Pentateuch. Dr. Mombert's work was conducted with every precaution to insure literal accuracy of reproduction, and is to be depended on so far as the text is concerned. His introduction contains a large amount of bibliographical and other information, together with certain conclusions as to the unsettled historical questions of Tyndale's life, which are at some points in conflict with other authorities. He has also taken the singular course of appending to the text of the Pentateuch, in the form of footnotes, glosses selected from Luther's version and the Rogers Bible of 1537, which at times are confusing to the student. The book was unfavorably reviewed in the *Athenæum* (1885, Vol. I, pp. 500, 562). The reviewer points out many alleged errors in Mombert's bibliographical statements, and ridicules his theory that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg instead of Marburg. He does not, however, criticise in any respect the fidelity of the reprint of the text of the Pentateuch, with which we are here concerned.

[1] The Hebrew and Greek have been collated with the texts in Walton's *Polyglot* (1657), no copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot* first edition being available. No variations from the modern text were found in the passages herein quoted.

	HEBREW Heb.	LXX	VULGATE V	HEREFORD H	PURVEY P	LUTHER L	TYNDALE T	Remarks
Gen. 1:1	בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ:	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	In principio creavit Deus caelum, et terram.	In the firste made God of nougt heuene and erthe.	In the bigynnyng God made of nougt heuene and erthe.	Am Anfang schuff Gott Himmel und Erden.	In the begynnynge God created heaven and erth.	Omits definite article following V H P L against Heb. LXX.
2	והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך על־פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על־פני המים:	ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.	Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi; et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.	The erthe forsothe was veyn with ynne and void. and derknessis weren vpon the face of the see; and the Spiryt of God was born vpon the watrys.	Forsothe the erthe was idel and voide, and derknessis weren on the face of depthe; and the Spiryt of the Lord was borun on the watris.	Und die Erde war wüst und lär | und es war finster auff der Tiefe | und der Geist Gottes schwebt auff dem Wasser.	The erth was voyde and emptie, and darcknesse was vpon the depe, and the spirite of god moved vpon the water.	Follows LXX & L in omitting the idiomatic Hebrew **פני** Follows L against LXX V H P.
3	ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי אור:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Γενηθήτω φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.	Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux.	And God seide, Be maad ligt: and maad is ligt.	And God seide, Ligt be maad, and ligt was maad.	Und Gott sprach: Es werde liecht. Und es ward liecht.	Than God sayd: iet there be lyghte and there was lyghte.	
4	וירא אלהים את האור כי־טוב ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך:	Καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.	Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona; et divisit lucem a tenebris.	And God sawg ligt, that it was good, and deuydid ligt fro derknessis.	And God seig the ligt, that it was good, and he departide the ligt fro derknessis;	Und Gott sahe | dasz das Liecht gut war. Da scheidet Gott das Liecht vom finsternisz,	And God sawe the lyghte that it was good: & devyded the lyghte from the darcknesse	
5	ויקרא אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד:	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.	Appellavitque lucem Diem et tenebras Noctem, factumque est vespere et mane, dies unus.	And clepide ligt, day, and derknessis, nygt. And maad is euen and moru, o day.	And he clepide the ligt, dai, and the derknessis, nygt. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, o daie.	Und nennet das Liecht Tag | und die Finsternisz Nacht. Da ward ausz abend und morgen der erste Tag.	And called the lyghte daye, and the darcknesse nyghte: and so of the evenynge and mornynge was made the fyrst daye.	Follows V and L in the inaccurate rendering of Hebrew.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:6	ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως,	Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, et dividat aquas ab aquis.	Seide forsothe God. Be maad a firmament in the myddel of watres, and dyuyde it watres fro watrys.	And God seide, The firmament be maad in the myddis of watris, and departe watris fro watris.	Und Gott sprach: Es werde ein Feste zwischen den wassern | und die sey ein unterscheid zwischen den wassern.	And God sayd: let there be a fyrmament betwene the waters, and let it devyde the waters a sonder.	Firmament from V H P. Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P. Idiomatic instead of literal rendering, independent.
7	ויעש אלהים את־הרקיע ויבדל בין המים אשר מתחת לרקיע ובין המים אשר מעל לרקיע ויהי כן:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος,	Et fecit Deus firmamentum, divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento, ab his, quae erant super firmamentum. Et factum est ita.	And God made the firmament, and dyuyidid watris that weren vndre the firmament fro thes that weren aboue the fermament; and it is maad so.	And God made the firmament, and departide the watris that weren vndur the firmament fro these watris that weren on the firmament; and it was don so.	Da machet Gott die Feste | und scheidet das wasser unter der Festen | von dem wasser uber der Festen. Und es geschah also.	Than God made the fyrmament and parted the waters which were vnder the fyrmament, from the waters that were above the fyrmament: And it was so.	
8	ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים ויהי ערב ויהי־בקר יום שני:	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν· καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα δευτέρα,	Vocavitque Deus firmamentum, Caelum; et factum est vespere et mane, dies secundus.	And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And maad is euen and moru, the secounde day.	And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the secounde dai.	Und Gott nennet die Festen | Himmel. Da ward ausz abend und morgen der ander Tag.	And God called the fyrmament heaven, And so of the evenynge and morninge was made the seconde daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
9	ויאמר אלהים יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל־מקום אחד ותראה היבשה ויהי־כן:	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά.	Dixit vero Deus: Congregentur aquae, quae sub caelo sunt, in locum unum, et appareat arida. Et factum est ita.	God forsothe seide, Gadrid be watris, the whiche ben vndre heuene, in to o place, and apere the drie; and maad it is so.	Forsothe God seide. The watris, that ben vndur heuene, be gaderid in to o place, and a drie place appere; and it was doon so.	Und Gott sprach: Es samle sich das wasser unter dem Himmel an sondere örter dasz man das trocken sehe. Und es geschach also.	And God sayd, let the waters that are vnder heaven gether them selves vnto one place,[1] that[2] the drye londe may appere: And it came so to passe.	[1]Follows Heb. LXX V H P against L's loose rendering. [2]Follows L as often in correct rendering of ו against LXX V H P.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:10	ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ ולמקוה המים קרא ימים וירא אלהים כי־טוב:	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν, καὶ τὰ συστέματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσας· καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.	Et vocavit Deus aridam, Terram, congregationesque aquarum appellavit Maria. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God clepid the drie, erthe; and the gaderyngis of watris he clepide sees. And God saig that it was good;	And God clepide the drie place, erthe; and he clepide the gadryngis togidere of watris, the sees. And God seig that it was good;	Und Gott nennet das trocken | Erde | und die samlung der Wasser nennet er | Meer. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And god called the drye lande the erth and the gatheringe togyther of waters called he the see. And God sawe that it was good.	Inaccurate introduction of def. art. against Heb. LXX (V) H P.
11	ויאמר אלהים תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע עץ פרי עשה פרי למינו אשר זרעו־בו על הארץ ויהי כן:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος εἰς ὁμοιότητα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Et ait: Germinet terra herbam virentem, et facientem semen, et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum juxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso sit super terram et factum est ita.	And saith, Burion the erthe grene erbe and makynge seed, and appletre makynge fruyt after his kynd, whos seed ben in hym silf, vpon the erthe; and maad it is so.	Und es geschach also.	Und Gott sprach: Es lasse die Erde auffgehen Grasz und Kraut | dasz sich besame | und fruchtbare Bäume | da ein jeglicher nach seiner art frucht trage | und habe seinen eygenen Samen bey im selbs auff Erden.	And god sayd: let the erth bringe forth herbe and grasse that sowe seed, and frutefull trees that bere frute every one in his kynde, havynge their seed in them selves vpon the erth. And it came so to passe:	Follows L closely in choice of words.
12	ותוצא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע למינהו ועץ עשה פרי אשר זרעו בו למינהו וירא אלהים כי־טוב:	καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν,	Et protulit terra herbam virentem, et facientem semen juxta genus suum. lignumque faciens fructum, et habens unumquodque sementem secundum speciem suam. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And the erthe brougte forthe grene erbe and makynge seed after his kynde. and tree makynge fruyt, and echon hauynge seed after his special kynde. And God saig that it were good.	And the erthe brougte forth greene erbe and makynge seed bi his kynde, and a tre makynge fruyt, and ech hauynge seed by his kynde. And God seig that it was good.	Und die Erde liesz auffgehen Grasz und Kraut | das sich besamet ein jeglichs nach seiner art | und Bäume | die da frucht trugen und iren eygen Samen bey sich selbs hatten | ein jeglicher nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	and the erth brought forth herbe and grasse sowenge seed every one in his kynde & trees berynge frute & havynge their seed in themselves, every one in his kynde. And God sawe that it was good: and	

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:13	ויהי־ערב ויהי בקר יום שלישי:	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τρίτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies tertius.	And maad is euen and moru, the thrid day.	And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the thridde dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der dritte Tag.	then of the even-ynge and morn-ynge was made the thyrde daye.	
14	ויאמר אלהים יהי מארת ברקיע השמים להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה והיו לאתת ולמועדים ולימים ושנים:	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς.	Dixit autem Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora, et dies et annos:	God forsothe seide, Be ther maad ligt gyuers in the firmament of heuene, and deuyde thei dai and nygt; and be thei into signes, and tymes, and daies, and geers;	Forsothe God seide, Ligtis be maad in the firmament of heuene, and departe tho the dai and nigt; and be tho in to signes, and tymes, and daies, and geeris;	Und Gott sprach: Es werden Liechter under Feste desz Himmels | die da scheiden tag und nacht | und geben zeichen zeiten, tage und jare |	Than sayd God: let there be lyghtes in ye firmament of heaven to devyde the daye from the nyghte, that they may be vnto sygnes seasons, days & yeares.	Independent rendering of ו as final.
15	והיו למארות ברקיע השמים להאיר על־הארץ ויהי־כן:	καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς φαῦσιν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Ut luceant in firmamento caeli, et illuminent terram. Et factum est ita.	And ligtne thei in the firmament of heuene, and ligtne thei the erthe; and maad it is so.	And shyne tho in the firmament of heuene, and ligtne tho the erthe; and it was doon so.	Und seyen Liechter an der Feste des Himmels | dasz die scheinen auff Erden. Und es geschach also.	And let them be lyghtes in the fyrmament of heaven, to shyne vpon the erth. & so it was.	
16	ויעש אלהים את־שני המארת הגדלים את־המאור הגדל לממשלת היום ואת־המאור הקטן לממשלת הלילה ואת הכוכבים:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσω εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας.	Fecitque Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare majus, ut praeesset diei: et luminare minus, ut praeesset nocti, et stellas.	And God made two greet ligt gyuerys, the more ligt gyuer that it were bifore to the day, and the lesse ligt gyuer that it were bifore to the nygt, and sterres.	And God made twei grete ligtis, the gretter ligt that it schulde be bifore to the dai, and the lesse ligt that it schulde be bifore to the nigt; and God made sterris;	Und Gott machet zwey grosse Liechter | ein grosz Liecht | das den Tag regiere | und ein klein Liecht | das die Nacht regiere | dazu auch Sterne.	And God made two great lyghtes A greater lyghte to rule the daye, & a lesse lyghte to rule the nyghte, and he made sterres also.	Follows L against Heb. LXX H P in using indefinite article, but not in rendering הגדל and הקטן. Follows P against LXX V H L in supplying verb to soften abruptness.

	H	LXX	Vg	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:17	ויתן אתם אלהים ברקיע השמים להאיר	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,	Et posuit eas in firmamento caeli, et lucerent super terram, et praeessent diei ac nocti, et dividerent lucem ac tenebras. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And he putte hem in the firmament of heuene, that thei shulden gyue ligt vpon the erthe, and that thei were bifore to the day and to the nygt, and shulde deuyde ligt and derknessis. And God saig that it wer good.	And settide tho in the firmament of heuene, that tho schulden schyne on erthe, and that tho schulden be bifore to the dai and nygt. and schulden departe ligt and derknesse. And God seig that it was good.	Und Gott setzt sie an die Feste desz Himmels dasz sie schienen auff die Erde | und den Tag und die Nacht regierten und scheideten Liecht und Finsternisz. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God put them in the fyrmament of heaven to shyne vpon the erth, and to rule the daye & the nyghte, and to devyde the lyghte from darcknesse. And God sawe yt it was good.	
18	על־הארץ׃ ולמשל ביום ובלילה ולהבדיל בין האור ובין החשך וירא	καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός, καὶ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.						
19	אלהים כי־טוב׃ ויהי־ערב ויהי־ בקר יום רביעי׃	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τετάρτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies quartus.	And maad is euen and moru, the ferthe day.	And the euentid and the morwetid was maad, the fourthe dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der vierdte Tag.	And so of the evenynge and mornynge was made the fourth daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
20	ויאמר אלהים ישרצו המים שרץ נפש חיה ועוף יעופף על־הארץ על־פני רקיע השמים׃	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ξωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Dixit etiam Deus: Producant aquae reptile animae viventis, et volatile super terram sub firmamento caeli.	God also seide, Watres bryng thei forthe the crepynge kynd of the lyuynge soule, and the fleeinge kynde vpon the erth, vndre the firmament of heuene.	Also God seide, The watris brynge forth a crepynge beeste of lyuynge soule, and a brid fleynge aboue erthe vndur the firmament of heuene.	Und Gott sprach: Es errege sich das Wasser mit webenden und lebendigen Thieren | und mit Gevögel | dass auff Erden unter der Feste desz Himmels fliege.	And God sayd, let the water bryng forth creatures that move & have lyfe, & foules for to flee over the erth vnder the fyrmament of heaven.	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
21	ויברא אלהים את־התנינם הגדלים ואת כל־נפש החיה הרמשת אשר שרצו המים למינהם ואת כל־עוף כנף למינהו וירא אלהים כי־טוב׃	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῴων ἑρπετῶν, ἃ ἐξήγαγεν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν πτερωτὸν κατὰ γένος· καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλά.	Creavitque Deus cete grandia, et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem, quam produxerant aquae in species suas, et omne volatile secundum genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God made of nougt greet whallis and al soule lyuyng and mouable. whom watres brougten forth into ther special kyndes, and al fleynge thing after his kynd. And God saig that it wer good:	And God made of nougt grete whallis, and ech lyuynge soule and mouable, whiche the watris han brougt forth in to her kyndis; and God made of nougt ech volatile bi his kynde. And God seig that it was good;	Und Gott schuff grosse Walfische | und allerley Thier | das da lebt und webt | und vom Wasser erreget ward | ein jeglichs nach seiner art | und allerley gefidderts Gevögel | ein jeglichs nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God created greate whalles and all maner of creatures that lyve and moue, which the waters brought forth in their kindes, and all maner of federed foules in their kyndes. And God sawe that it was good:	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:22	ויברך אתם אלהים לאמר פרו ורבו ומלאו את־המים בימים והעוף ירב בארץ:	καὶ ηὐλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεὸς λέγων Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πληθυνέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Benedixitque eis, dicens: Crescite, et multiplicamini, et replete aquas maris, avesque multiplicentur super terram.	and blisside to hem, seiynge, Growith, and beth ge multiplyed, and fulfillith the watres of the see, and the briddis be multiplied vpon the erthe	and blesside hem, and seide, Wexe ge, and be ge multiplied and fille ge the watris of the see, and briddis be multiplied on erthe.	Und Gott segnet sie | und sprach: Seyt fruchtbar und mehret euch und erfüllet das wasser im Meer und das Gevögel mehre sich auff Erden.	And God blessed them sayinge. Growe and multiplye and fyll the waters on the sees, & let the foules multiplye vpon the erth.	Follows literal Heb. (LXX V H) against P L.
23	ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום חמישי:	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα πέμπτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies quintus.	And maad is euen and moru, the fyueth day.	And the eventid and the morwetid was maad, the fyuethe dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der fünffte Tag.	And so of the evenynge & morninge was made the fyfth daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
24	ויאמר אלהים תוצא הארץ נפש חיה למינה בהמה ורמש וחיתו־ארץ למינה ויהי־כן:	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Dixit quoque Deus: Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, jumenta, et reptilia, et bestias terrae secundum species suas. Factumque est ita.	God forsothe seide, Bryng forthe the erthe soule lyuynge in his kynde, iumentis, and crepynge thingis, and beestis of the erthe after their special kyndis, and so it is maad.	And God seide, The erthe brynge forthe a lyuynge soul in his kynde, work beestis and crepynge beestis, and vnresonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis, and it was don so.	Und Gott sprach: Die Erde bring herfür lebendige Thier | ein jeglichs nach seiner art | Vieh | Gewürm | und Thier auff Erden | ein jeglichs nach seiner art. Und es geschach also.	And God sayd: let the erth bring forth lyvynge creatures in thir kyndes: catell & wormes & beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & so it came to passe.	Follows L in special meaning of נפש for context. Follows L in choice of word.
25	ויעש אלהים את־חית הארץ למינה ואת־ הבהמה למינה ואת כל־רמש האדמה למינהו וירא אלהים כי־טוב:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτήνη κατὰ γένος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτων. καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλά.	Et fecit Deus bestias terrae juxta species suas, et jumenta, et omne reptile terrae in genere suo. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum,	And God made beestis of the erthe aftir thir special kyndis, iumentis, and crepynge thingis, and beestis of the erthe, after ther special kyndis; and so it is maad.* And God saig that it wer good;	And God made vnresonable beestis of erthe bi her kyndis. and werk beestis and crepynge beestis, and unresonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis; and it was done so.* And God seig that it was good;	Also machet Gott die Thier auff Erden | ein jeglichs nach seiner art | und das Vieh nach seiner art | und allerley Gewürm auff Erden nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & catell in their kyndes, ad all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes: and God sawe that it was good.	

* This sentence repeated with slight variations in H and P.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 1:26	ויאמר אלהים נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים ובבהמה ובכל־הארץ ובכל־הרמש הרמש על־ הארץ:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Et ait: Faciamus Hominem ad imaginem, et similitudinem nostram. et praesit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universaeque terrae. omnique reptili, quod movetur in terra.	and seith, Make we man to the ymage and oure lickenesse, and bifore be he to the fishis of the see, and to the volatils of heuene, and to the beestis of the erth, and to al creature, and to al the crepynge thing that moueth on the erthe.	and seide, Make we man to oure ymage and liknesse, and be he souereyn to the fisches of the see, and to the volatilis of heuene, and to vnresonable beestis of erthe, and to ech creature, and to ech crepynge beest, which is moued in erthe.	Und Gott sprach: Lasst uns Menschen machen | ein Bild | das uns gleich sey die da herrschen uber die Fische im Meer | und uber die Vögel unter dem Himmel | und uber das Vieh | und uber die gantzen Erde | und uber alles Gewürm das auff Erden kreucht.	And God sayd: let vs make man in ouresymilitude and after oure lycknesse: that he may have rule over the fysh of the see, and over the foules of the ayre, and over catell, and over all the erth, and over all wormes that crepe on the erth.	Follows Heb. V P against L's loose rendering. Symilitude from V, lycknesse from H P. T avoids image.
27	וירא אלהים את־האדם בצלמו בצלם אלהים ברא אתו זכר ונקבה ברא אתם:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.	Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam: ad ad imaginem Dei creavit illum. masculum et feminam creavit eos.	And God made of nougt man to the ymage and his likenes; to the ymage of God he made hym; maal and femaal he made hem of nougt.	And God made of nougt a man, to his ymage and liknesse; God made of nougt a man, to the ymage of God; God made of nougt hem, male and female.	Und Gott schuff den Menschen Im zum Bilde | zum Bilde Gottes schuff er ihn. und er schuff sie ein Männlin und Fräwlin |	And God created man after hys lycknesse, after the lycknesse of God created he him: male & female created he them.	
28	ויברך אתם אלהים ויאמר להם אלהים פרו ורבו ומלאו את־ הארץ וכבשה ורדו בדגת הים ובעוף	καὶ ηὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς λέγων Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς, καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	Benedixitque illis Deus, et ait: Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram, et subjicite eam. et dominamini piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et universis animantibus, quae	And God blissid to hem, and seith. Growe ge. and be ge multiplied, and fulfille ge the erthe. and sogette ge it. and have ge lordship to the fishis of the see, and to the volatilis of heu-	And God blesside hem, and seide. Encreesse ge, and be ge multiplied. and fille ge the erthe, and make ge it suget, and be ge lordis to fischis of the see, and to volatilis of heuene,	Und Gott segnet sie | und sprach zu inen: Seyt fruchtbar und mehret euch | und füllet die Erden | und macht sie euch underthan. Und herrschet uber Fisch im Meer | und	And God blessed them, and God sayd vnto them. Growe and multiplye and fyll the erth and subdue it. and have domynyon over the fysh of the see, and over the foules of the	Follows LXX V H P against L's more correct rendering.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
	השמים ובכל־ חיה הרמשת על־הארץ:	καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	moventur super terram.	ene, and to alle thingis hauynge soule that mouen vpon the erthe.	and to alle lyuynge beestis that ben moued on erthe.	uber Vögel unter dem Himmel | und uber alles Thier | das auf Erden kreucht.	ayre, and over all the beastes that move on the erth.	Ayre instead of heaven, independent.
Gen. 1:29	ויאמר אלהים הנה נתתי לכם את־כל־ עשב זרע זרע אשר על־פני כל־הארץ ואת־ כל־העץ אשר־ בו פרי־עץ זרע זרע לכם יהיה לאכלה:	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν πᾶν χόρτον σπόριμον σπεῖρον σπέρμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς· καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος σπορίμου· ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς βρῶσιν,	Dixitque Deus: Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram, et universa ligna quae habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui ut sint vobis in escam: et cunctis animantibus terrae omnique volucri caeli, et universis quae moventur in terra, et in quibus est anima vivens. ut habeant ad vescendum. Et factum est ita.	And God seyde, Se! Y haue gouun to gow al erbe bryngynge forthe seed vpon the erthe, and alle trees that han in hym silf seed of ther kynde, that thei ben to gow into mete; and to alle thingis that mouen in the erthe, and to al foule of heuene, and to alle thingis that mouen in the erthe, and in the which is soule gyuynge lijf, that thei have for to eet; and maad it is so.	And God seide, Se! Y haue goue to gou ech eerbe berynge seed on erthe, and alle trees that han in hem silf the seed of her kynde, that tho be in to mete to gou; and to alle lyuynge beestis of erthe and to ech brid of heuene, and to alle thingis that ben moued in erthe, and in whiche is a lyuynge soule, that tho have to ete; and it was doon so.	Und Gott sprach: Sihe | ich gebe euch allerley Kraut | das sich besamet auff der gantzen Erden | und allerley fruchtbare Bäume | und Bäume die sich besamen zu ewer speise | und aller Thier auff Erden | und allen Vögeln unter dem Himmel unter dem Himmel | und allem Gewürm | das da lebt auff Erden | dasz sie allerley grün Kraut essen. Und es geschach also.	And God sayd: se, I have geven yow all herbes that sowe seed which are on all the erth, and all maner trees that haue frute in them and sowe seed: to be meate for yow & for all beastes of the erth, and unto all foules of the ayre, and vnto all that creepeth on the erth where in is lyfe, that they may haue all maner herbes and grasse for to eate, and even so it was.	Follows Heb. LXX V H P against L's loose rendering.
30	ולכל־חית הארץ ולכל־עוף השמים ולכל רומש על־ הארץ אשר־בו נפש חיה את כל־ירק עשב לאכלה ויהי־כן	καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὶ ἑρπετῷ τῷ ἕρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον χλωρόν εἰς βρῶσιν. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.						Follows Heb. LXX against V H P L. Follows Heb. LXX L against V H P.
31	וירא אלהים את־כל־אשר עשה והנה־טוב מאד ויהי־ערב ויהי־בקר יום הששי	καὶ ἴδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα ἕκτη.	Viditque Deus cuncta quae fecerat, et erant valde bona. Et factum est vespere et mane, dies sextus.	And God saig alle thingis that he made, and thei weren ful good. And made is euen and moru, the sixte day.	And God seig alle thingis whiche he made, and tho weren ful goode. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the sixte day.	Und Gott sahe an alles was er gemacht hatte. Und sihe du | es war sehr gut. Da ward ausz abend und morgen der sechste Tag.	And God behelde all that he had made, and loo they were exceadynge good: and so of the evenynge and mornynge was made the syxth daye.	

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 2: 1	וכל־צבאם	ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν	et omnis ornatus eorum	and al the anowrning of hem.	and al the ournement of tho.	mit iren gantzen Heer.	wyth all their apparell:	Rejects L's correct rendering for one of his own not so good.
4	בּוֹם	ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ	in die	in the day	in the day	zu der zeit	in the tyme	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
5	וכל־שיח השדה טרם יהיה בארץ וכל־עשב השדה טרם יצמח	καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι	et omne virgultum agri antequam oriretur in terra, omnemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret	and ech bushe of the feeld or it were growun in the erthe, and al erbe of regioun bifore that it buriownde	and ech litil tre of erthe bifore that it sprong out in erthe; and he made ech erbe of the feeld bifore that it buriownede	und allerley Bäume auff dem Felde | die zuvor nie gewest waren auff Erden | Und allerley Kraut auff dem Felde | das zuvor nie gewachsen war.	and all the shrubbes of the felde be fore they were in the erthe. And all the herbes of the felde before they sprange.	All the versions misinterpret טרם. T follows LXX V, however, not L.
9	מקדם	κατὰ ἀνατολάς	a principio	fro bigynnynge	at the bigynnyng	gegen dem Morgen	[a garden in Eden] from the begynnynge	Follows LXX V H P against L's correct rendering.
13	וכל־ארץ כוש	—Αἰθιοπίας	Ethiopiae	at the erthe of Ethiope	at the loond of Ethiopie	das gantze Morenland	all the lande of Inde	An independent conjecture.
18	עזר כנגדו	βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν	adjutorium simile sibi	help like hym.	an help lijk to hym silf	ein Gehülffen die umb jn sey	an helper to beare him company	Follows L in rendering כנגדו against V H P.
3: 4	לא מות תמותון	οὐ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε	nequaquam morte moriemini	Thurg deth ge shal not die	Ge schulen not die bi deeth	Ir werdet mit nichte desz tods sterben.	tush ye shall not dye	A vigorous independent rendering of the Heb. idiom.
16	הרבה ארבה עצבנך והרנך	τὰς λύπας σον καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν	aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuas	thi myseses and thi conceyuyngis	thi wretchidnessis and thi conseyuyngis	Ich wil dir vil schmertzen schaffen wenn du schwanger wirst | Du solt mit schmertzen Kinder geberen.	I will suerly encrease thy sorow and make the oft with child	Abandons L's loose paraphrase for an independent rendering, showing in the phrase used for והרנך a desire to follow English usage.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 3:19	עפר	γῆ	pulvis	powdre	dust	Erden	erth thou art	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P.
4: 7	הלוא אם־תיטיב שאת ואם־לא תיטיב לפתח חטאת רבץ ואליך תשוקתו ואתה תמשל־בו	οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς ἥμαρτες ἡσύχασον. πρός σε ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ	Nonne si bene egeris, recipies; sin autem male, statum in foribus peccatum aderit; sed sub te erit appetitus ejus, et tu dominaberis illius.	Shalt thow not reseyue wel, if thou wel dost; ellis forsothe euel, anoon in the gatis thi synnes shal ben at thee? but vndre thee shal be the appetite of hym, and thow shalt haue lordship of hym.	Whether not if thou schalt do wel, thou schalt resseyue; but if thou doist yuele, thi synne schal be present anoon in the gatis? but the desir therof schal be vndur thee, and thou schalt be lord therof.	Ists nicht also? wenn du fromb bist ǀ so bistu angeneme bistu aber nicht from so ruhet die Sünde für der thür. Aber lasz du ir nie iren willen ǀ sondern herrsche uber sie.	Wotest thou not if thou dost well thou shalt receave it? But and yf thou dost evell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Notwithstandyng let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it.	Follows V H P against L. Follows H and P against Heb. V L. One of the few cases where influence of H P apart from V can be shown.
8	ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.	Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum Egrediamur foras.	And Caym seide to Abel his brother, Go we out.	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out.	Da redet Kain mit seinem Bruder Habel.	And Cain talked with Abell his brother	Follows L in omitting the phrase given by LXX V (H P).
12	נע ונד	στένων καὶ τρέμων	vagus et profugus	vagaunt and fer fugitif	vnstable of dwellyng and fleynge aboute	unstät und flüchtig.	a vagabond & a rennagate.	Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent.
23	איש הרגתי לפצעי וילד לחבורתי	ὅτι ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα εἰς τραῦμα ἐμοί, καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μώλωπα ἐμοί.	occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adolescentulum in livorem meum.	I slowe a man into my wound, and a litle waxen man into my wannesse;	Y haue slayn a man bi my wounds, and a gong wexynge man bi my violent betyng;	Ich hab einen Mann erschlagen mir zur wunden ǀ und einen Jüngling mir zur beulen.	I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes.	Independent and impossible.
5: 1	תולדת אדם	γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων	generationis Adam	generacioun of Adam.	generacioun of Adam	desz menschen Geschlecht	generacion of man	Follows LXX and L against V H P.
24	ויתהלך חנוך את־האלהים ואיננו כי לקח אתו אלהים	καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός	Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit; quia tulit eum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperyde not; for God toke hym.	And Enoth geed with God, and apperide not afterward, for God took hym awei.	Und dieweil er ein Göttlich Leben führet ǀ nam jn Gott hinweg ǀ und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Henoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Adopts L's paraphrase instead of Heb. V H P.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 6: 1	ובנות ילדו להם	καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς	et filias procreassent	and hadden brougt forth dowgtris	and hadden gendrid dougtris	und zeugeten jnen Töchter	had begot them doughters	Follows V H P L against pointing of Heb. & LXX.
4	הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם	οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις	Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis	Giauntes forsothe weren vpon the erthe in tho daies,	Sotheli giauntis weren on erthe in tho daies.	Es waren auch zu den zeiten Tyrannen auff Erden.	There were tirantes in the world in thos dayes	Follows L without any conceivable reason.
18	בריתי	διαθήκην	foedus	couenaunt	couenaunt	Bund	myne apoyntement	In his first edition T used various renderings for ברית according to context, but the revision of 1534 substitutes covenant in all cases (following L)
9: 9	בריתי	διαθήκην	pactum	"	"	Bund	my bond	
13	בריתי	διαθήκης	foederis	"	boond	Bund	my appoyntment	
15	בריתי	διαθήκης	foederis	"	"	Bund	my testament	
17	בריתי	διαθήκης	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	
12: 2	והיה ברכה	καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός	erisque benedictus	thou shalt be blissid	thou schalt be blessid	und solt ein Segen seyn	that thou mayst be a blessing	Follows L against LXX V H P
14: 1	ויהי בימי אמרפל	ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ Ἀμραφηλ	factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amrafel	es begab sich zu der Zeit desz Königs Amraphel	it chaunsed within a while that Amraphel	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בימי against L's correct reading.
15: 2	ואנכי הולך ערירי ובן משק ביתי הוא דמשק אליעזר	ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολύομαι ἄτεκνος· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μάσεκ τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου, οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ	Ego vadam absque liberis, et filius procuratoris domus meae, iste Damascus Eliezer	I shall go withouten fre children, and the sone of the proctour of myn hows, this Damask of Elyzar, shal be myn eyre.	Y schal go with oute fre children, and this Damask, sone of Elieser, the procuratour of myn hous, schal be myn eir.	Ich gehe dahin on kinder | und mein Hausvogt dieser Elieser von Damasco | hat einen Son.	I goo childlesse, and the cater of myne housse, this Eleasar of Damasco hath a sone.	All the versions misunderstand בן משק, T follows L instead of V or H P.
6	ויחשבה לו צדקה	καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην	Et reputatum est illi ad justitiam	and it was alowid to hym to rygtwisnes.	and it was arettid to hym to rigtfulnesse.	und das rechnet er jm zur gerechtigkeit	and it was counted to hym for rightivesnes	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
17: 1	התהלך לפני והיה תמים	εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος	ambula coram me, et esto perfectus	goo bifore me, and be thow perfite	go thou bifore me, and be thou perfit	wandele für mir | und sey fromb	Walke before me and be uncorrupte	A good independent rendering of תמים

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 18:10	כעת חיה	κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας	tempore isto, vita comite	this tyme, the lijf ledere	in this tyme, if Y lyue	so ich lebe	as soone as the frute can lyve	All stumble on this obscure phrase. T ventures his own conjecture different from all others.
22:14	בהר יהוה יראה	ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη	In monte Dominus videbit	In the hil the Lord shal se	The Lord schal see in the hil.	Auff dem Berge | da der Herr sihet.	In the mounte will the Lord be sene	T does not follow pointing of יֵרָאֶה as const., but does follow passive pointing of verb against other versions.
23: 2	קרית ארבע	πόλει Ἄρβοκ	in civitate Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in der Hauptstadt	in a heade cyte	Follows L against others.
15	ארץ ארבע מאת שקל־כסף בינו ובינך מה־הוא	τετρακοσίων διδράχμων ἀργυρίου· ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο	Terra, quam postulas, quadringentis siclis argenti valet; istud est pretium inter me et te, sed quantum est hoc	the erthe that thow askist is worth foure hundryd sicles of siluer, this is the pryis bitwix me, and thee but what is that?	the lond which thou axist is worth foure hundrid siclis of siluer, that is the prijs bitwixe me and thee, but hou myche is this?	Das Feld ist vier hundert Sekel Silbers wehrt. Was ist das aber zwischen mir und dir.	The lande is worth IIII hundred sycles of sylver: But what is that betwixte the and me?	T follows L in a substantially correct but not literal rendering.
27:41	יקרבו ימי אבל אבי ואהרגה את יעקב אחי:	ἐγγισάτωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πένθους τοῦ πατρός μου, ἵνα ἀποκτείνω Ιακώβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μοῦ	veniunt dies luctus patris mei, et occidam Jacobum fratrem meum	the days of weilyng of my fader shal come, and I shal slee Jacob my brother	the daies of morenyng of my fadir schulen come, and Y schal sle Jacob, my brothir	Es wirdt die zeit bald kommen | dasz mein Vatter leyde tragen musz | Denn ich wil meinen Bruder Jacob erwürgen.	The dayes of my fathers sorowe are at hade, for I will sley my brother Jacob	Follows L against LXX V H P.
49: 3	ראובן בכרי אתה כחי וראשית אוני יתר שאת ויתר עז:	Ῥουβὴν πρωτότοκός μου, σὺ ἰσχύς μου καὶ ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου· σκληρὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ σκληρὸς αὐθάδης.	Ruben primogenitus meus, tu fortitudo mea, et principium doloris mei; prior in donis, major in imperio.	Ruben, my first getun, thow my strengthe, and the bigyning of my sorwe; first in giftis, and more in comaundyng;	Ruben, my firste gendrid sone, thou art my strengthe and the bigynnyng of my sorewe; thou ougtist to be the former in giftis, the more in lordschip;	Ruben mein erster Son | Du bist meine Krafft | und meine erste macht | der öberst in Opffer | und der öberst in Reich.	Ruben, thou art myne eldest sonne, my myghte and the begynnynge of my strength, chefe in receauynge and chefe in power.	Follows L in correct rendering of אוני. In rendering שאת T is independent and wrong.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 49: 4	פחז כמים אל־תותר כי עלית משכבי אביך אז חללת יצועי עלה:	ἐξύβρισας ὡς ὕδωρ, μὴ ἐκζέσῃς ἀνέβης γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην τοῦ πατρός σου· τότε ἐμίανας τὴν στρωμνὴν οὗ ἀνέβης.	Effusus es sicut aqua, non crescas, quia ascendisti cubile patris tui, et maculasti stratum ejus.	thou art held out as water; ne grow thow, for thow hast steied up the cowche of thi fader, and thou hast defoulid the bedde of hym.	thou art sched out as watir; wexe thou not, for thou stiedist on the bed of thi fader, and defoulidist his bed.	Er fuhr leicht fertig dahin | wie Wasser | du solt nicht der Oberst seyn | Denn du bist auff deines Vatters Läger gestiegen | daselbst hastu mein Bette besudelt mit dem auffsteigen.	As unstable as water wast thou: thou shalt therfore not be the chefest, for thou wenst vp vpo thy fathers bedd, and than defyledest thou my couche with goynge vppe.	פחז probably means "bubbling over," "foaming." T's rendering is, like L's, a paraphrase, but somewhat different in effect.
6	בסדם אל־ תבא נפשי בקהלם אל־ תחד כבדי כי באפם הרגו איש וברצנם עקרו־שור:	εἰς βουλὴν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔλθοι ἡ ψυχή μου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συστάσει αὐτῶν μὴ ἐρίσαι τὰ ἥπατά μου. ὅτι ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐνευροκόπησαν ταῦρον.	In consilium eorum non veniat anima mea, et in coetu illorum non sit gloria mea quia in furore suo occiderunt virum, et in voluntate sua suffoderunt murum.	In the counseil of hem come not my soule, and in the cumpanye of hem be not my glorie; for in her woodnes thei slewen a man, and in her owne wil thei vndurdelueden the wal;	My soule come not in to the councel of hem, and my glorie be not in the congregacioun of hem; for in her woodnesse thei killiden a man, and in her wille thei myneden the wal;	Meine Seele komme nicht in jren Raht | und meine Ehre sey nicht in jrer Kirchen | Denn in jrem zorn haben sie den Man erwürget | und in jrem mutwillen haben sie den Ochsen verderbet.	In to their secrettes come not my soule, and vnto their congregation be my honoure not coupled: for in their wrath they slewe a man, and in their selfewill they houghed an oxe.	Follows P in rendering קהל, avoiding L's awkward "Kirche." T does not use "church."
9	גור אריה יהודה מטרף בני עלית כרע רבץ כאריה וכלביא מי יקימנו:	σκύμνος λέοντος, Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος, τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν;	Catulus leonis Juda; ad praedam, fili mi, ascendisti, requiescens accubuisti ut leo, et quasi leaena, quis suscitabit eum?	The whelp of lyon Juda, to the prey, sone myne, thou steydist vp; restynge thow ley down as a lyon, and as a lionesse who shal arere hym?	A whelp of lioun is Judas; my sone thou stiedist to prey; thou restidist, and hast leyn as a lioun, and as a lionesse who schal reise hym?	Juda ist ein junger Löwe | du bist hoch kommen | mein Son | durch grosse Sieg | Er hat nider gekniet | und sich gelägert wie ein Löwe | und wie ein Löwin | Wer wil sich wider jn aufflehnen?	Iuda is a lions whelpe. From spoyle my sonne thou art come on hye: he layde him downe and couched himselfe as a lion, and as a lionesse. Who dare stere him vp?	Follows V against L's impossible rendering.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 49:10	לא־יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי־יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים	οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.	Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	The septre fro Juda shal not be takun awey, and a duke fro the leende of hym, to the tyme that he come that is to be sent, and he shal be the abidynge of folk of kynde,	The septre shal not be takun awey fro Juda, and a duyk of his hipe, til he come that schal be sent, and he schal be abiding of hethene men;	Es wirt das Scepter von Juda nicht entwendet werden | noch ein Meister von seinen Füssen | bisz dasz der Held komme | und demselben werden die Völcker anhangen.	The sceptre shall not departe from Iuda, nor a ruelar from betwene his legges, vntill Silo come, vnto whome the people shall herken.	L avoids the difficulty by a paraphrase, as usual. T rejects the impossible attempt of V to derive from שלה, but not having anything better to offer, he transliterates.
11	אסרי לגפן עירה ולשרקה בני אתנו כבס ביין לבשו ובדם־ ענבים סותה:	δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἕλικι τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ. πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ.	Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vitem, o fili mi, asinam suam, lavabit in vino stolam suam, et in sanguine uvae pallium suum.	Byndynge to a vyngerd his colt, and to a vyn, O! my sone, his she asse, he shal wasshe in wyne his stoole, and in blood of a grape his mantil;	and he schal tye his colt at the vyner, and his femal asse at the vyne; A! my sone, he schal waische his stoole in wyn, and his mentil in the blood of grape;	Er wirt sein Füllen an den Weinstock binden | und seiner Eselin Son an den edlen Reben | Er wirdt sein Kleid im Wein waschen | und seinen Mantel in Weinbeerblut.	He shall bynde his fole vnto the vine, and his asses colt vnto the vyne braunche, and shall wash his garment in wyne and his mantell in the bloud of grapes,	
12	חכלילי עינים מיין ולבן־ שנים מחלב:	χαροποιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ οἶνον, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα.	Pulchriores sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candidiores.	Fayrer ben the eyen of hym than wyn, and the teeth of hym whitter than mylk.	Hise igen ben fairere than wyn, and hise teeth ben whittere than mylk.	Seine Augen sind rötlicher denn Wein | und seine Zeene weisser denn Milch.	his eyes are roudier than wyne, ad his teeth whitter then mylke.	Follows all the versions in the not unnatural misinterpretation of the adjectives with מ as comparatives.
13	זבולן לחוף ימים ישכן והיא לחוף אניות וירכתו על־צידן:	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὅρμον πλοίων, καὶ παρατενεῖ ἕως Σιδῶνος.	Zabulon in littore maris habitabit, et in statione navium pertingens usque ad Sidonem.	Zabulon in the brynke of the see shal dwelle, and in the staciοun of shippes, arechynge vnto Sidon.	Zabulon schal dwelle in the brenk of the see, and in the stondynge of schipis; and schal stretche til to Sydon.	Sebulon wirdt am anfuhrt desz Meers wohnen | und am anfuhrt der Schiffe | und reichen an Sidon.	Zabulon shall dwell in the hauen of the see and in the porte of shippes, & shall reache vnto Sidon.	The Revisers have rendered לחוף differently in the two clauses, but T and the earlier versions are right.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 49:14	יששכר חמר גרם רבץ בין המשפתים:	Ἰσσαχὰρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἀναπαυόμενος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων.	Issachar, asinus fortis accubans inter terminos,	Ysachar, an hee asse strong. liggynge bitwix the teermes,	Isachar, a strong asse, liggynge bitwixe termes,	Isaschar wirt ein beinern Esel seyn | und sich lägern zwischen die Grentzen.	Isachar is a stronge asse, he couched him doune betwene 11 borders,	T notices the dual, ignored by others.
15	ויראמנחה כי טוב ואת־ הארץ כי נעמה ויט שכמו לסבל ויהי למס־ עבד:	καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ὅτι καλή, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι πίων, ὑπέθηκεν τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πονεῖν, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός.	Vidit requiem quod esset bona, et terram quod optima; et supposuit humerum suum ad portandum factusque est tributis serviens.	Sawg rest that it was good, and the loond that it was best, and vnderputte his shuldur to bere, and he is maad to tributis seruynge.	Seig reste, that it was good and seig the lond that it was best, and he vndirsettide his schuldre to bere, and he was maad seruynge to tributis.	Und er sahe die ruwe | dasz sie gut ist | und das Landt | dasz es lustig ist | Er hat aber seine schultern geneigt zu tragen | und ist ein zinszbar Knecht worden.	And sawe that rest was good and the lande that it was pleasant, and bowed his shulder to beare, and became a servaunte vnto trybute.	Follows V.
16	דן ידין עמו כאחד שבטי ישראל:	Δὰν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λάον, ὡσεὶ καὶ μία φυλὴ ἐν Ἰσραήλ.	Dan judicabit populum suum sicut et alia tribus in Israel.	Dan shal deme his puple, and as another lynage in Yrael.	Dan schal deme his puple, as also another lynage in Israel.	Dan wirdt Richter seyn in seinen Volck | wie ein ander Geschlecht in Israel.	Dan shall iudge his people, as one of the trybes of Israel.	Follows Heb. LXX against V (H P) L.
19	גד גדוד יגודנו והוא יגד עקב	Γάδ, πειρατήριον πειρατεύσαι αὐτὸν αὐτὸς δὲ πειρατεύσαι αὐτῶν κατὰ πόδας.	Gad, accinctus praeliabitur ante eum, et ipse accingetur retrorsum.	Gad gird shal feigt bifore hym, and he shal be gird bihynde.	Gad schal be gird, and schal figte bifor hym, and he schal be gird bihynde.	Gad gerüst | wirt das Heer führen | und wider herumb führen.	Gad, men of warre shall invade him. And he shall turne them to flyght.	Follows Heb. and LXX against V (H P) L.
20	מאשר שמנה לחמו והוא יתן מעדני־ מלך:	Ἀσήρ, πίων αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄρτος, καὶ αὐτὸς δώσει τροφὴν ἄρχουσιν.	Aser, pinguis panis ejus, et praebebit delicias regibus.	Aser, the fat breed of hym, and he shall geue delices to kyngis.	Aser his breed schal be plenteuouse, and he schal gyue delicis to kyngis.	Von Asser kompt sein fett Brot | Und er wirt den Königen zu gefallen thun.	Off Asser cometh fatt breed, and he shall geue pleasures for a kynge.	Follows L in connecting the מ with אשר as it now appears, instead of with the preceding word according to LXX and V.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 49:22	בן פרת יוסף בן פרת עלי־עין בנות צעדה עלי־שור:	Υἱὸς ηὐξημένος Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς ηὐξημένος μου ξηλωτός· υἱός μου νεώτατος· πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψαν.	Filius accrescens Joseph, filius accrescens et decorus aspectu; filiae discurrerunt super murum.	The sone acrecsynge, Joseph, the sone acresynge, and semly in sigt; the dougtres hider and thider renneden vpon the wal,	Joseph, a soue encreessynge, a sone encresinge, and fair in biholdyng; dougtris runnen aboute on the wal,	Joseph wirt wachsen | er wirt wachsen | wie an einer quelle | die Töchter tretten eynher im Regiment.	That florishynge childe Ioseph, that florishing childe and goodly vn to the eye: the doughters come forth to bere ruele.	Follows V (H P) against L.
23	וימררהו ורבו וישטמהו בעלי חצים:	εἰς δν διαβουλευόμενον ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ ἐνεῖχον αὐτῷ κύριοι τοξευμάτων,	Sed exasperaverunt eum, et jurgati sunt, invideruntque illi habentes jacula.	But thei eggiden hym out, and streuen, and enuyden to hym, hauynge dartis.	But hise brithren wraththeden hym, and chidden, and thei hadden dartis and hadden enuye to hym.	Und wiewol jn die Schützen erzürnen | und wider jn kriegen | und verfolgen |	The shoters haue envyed him and chyde with him ad hated him,	Follows L's wild conjecture. "Envyed" from V H; "chyde" from P; "hated" is independent and wrong.
24	ותשב באיתן קשתו ויפזו זרעי ידיו מידי אביר יעקב משם רעה אבן ישראל:	καὶ συνετρίβη μετὰ κράτους τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξελύθη τὰ νεῦρα βραχιόνων χειρὸς αὐτῶν διὰ χεῖρα δυνάστου Ιακώβ· ἐκεῖθεν ὁ κατισχύσας Ἰσραήλ.	Sedit in forti arcus ejus, et dissoluta sunt vincula brachiorum et manuum illius per manus potentis Jacob; inde pastor egressus est lapis Israel.	Sat in the strong the bowe of hym, and vnbounden ben the bondis of armes, and of the hondis of hym bi the hoond of the mygti of Jacob; thens a shepherde gede out, the stoone of Yrael.	His bowe sat in the stronge, and the boondis of his armies, and hondis weren vnboundun bi the hond of the mygti of Jacob; of hym a scheepherd gede out, the stoon of Israel.	so bleibt doch sein Bogen fest | und die arm seiner hände starck | durch die hände desz mächtigen in Jacob | ausz jnen sind kommen Hirten | und steine in Israel.	And yet his bowe bode fast, & his armes and his handes were stronge, by the handes of the myghtye God of Iacob: out of him shall come an herde man a stone in Israel.	Disregards L's loose plurals, but does not correctly translate the construct. as does V.
25	מאל אביך ויעזרך ואת שדי ויברכך ברכת שמים מעל ברכת תהום רבצת תחת ברכת שדים ורחם:	παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρός σου, καὶ βοηθήσέν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμός, καὶ εὐλόγησέν σε εὐλογίαν οὐρανοῦ ἄνωθεν, καὶ εὐλογίαν γῆς ἐχούσης πάντα· ἕνεκεν εὐλογίας μαστῶν καὶ μήτρας,	Deus patris tui erit adjutor tuus, et omnipotens benedicet tibi benedictionibus caeli desuper, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et vulvae.	God of thi fader shal be thin helper and the Almygti shal blesse to thee with blessynges of heuene fro aboue, and with blessyngis of the see liggyng beneth, and with blessyngis of tetis, and of the wombe;	God of thi fadir schal be thin helpere, and Almygti God schal blesse thee with blessyngis of heuene fro aboue, and with blessyngis of the see liggynge binethe, with blessyngis of tetis, and of wombe;	Von deines Vatters Gott ist dir geholffen | und von dem Almächtigen bist du gesegnet | mit Segen oben vom Himmel herab | mit segen von der Tieffe die hunden ligt | mit segen an Brüsten und Beuchen.	Thi fathers God shall helpe the, & the almightie shall blesse the with blessinges from heaven aboue, and with blessinges of the water that lieth vnder, & with blessinges of the brestes & of the wombes.	Omits מ, which is noticed by LXX and L.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Gen. 49:26	ברכת אביך גברו על־ ברכת הורי עד תאות גבעת עולם תהיין לראש יוסם ולקדקד נזיר אחיו:	εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου· ὑπερίσχυσεν ἐπ' εὐλογίαις ὀρέων μονίμων, καὶ επ' εὐλογίαις θεινῶν ἀενάων· ἔσονται ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν Ιω- σήφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυ- φῆς ὧν ἡγήσατο ἀδελφῶν.	Benedictiones patris tui confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum ejus, donec veniret desiderium collium aeternorum, fiant in capite Joseph, et in vertice Nazaraei inter fratres suos.	The blissyngis of thi fader ben coum- fortid with the blissyngis of the fadris of hym, to the tyme that were comen the desyre of euerlastynge hillis; ben thei maad in the heed of Joseph, and in the heed of Naza- rei amonge his bretheren.	The blessyngis of thi fadir ben coumfortid, the blessyngis of his fadris, til the desire of euerlastynge hillis cam; bless- yngis ben maad in the heed of Joseph, and in the nol of Nazarei among his britheren.	Die segen deines Vat- ters gehen stercker denn die segen meiner Voräl- tern (nach wundsch der Hohen in die Welt) und sollen kom- men auff das Haupt Joseph | und auff die Scheitel desz Nasir unter seinen Brüd- ern.	The blessinges of thy father were stronge: euen as the blessinges of my elders, after the desyre of the hiest in the worlde, and these blessinges shall fall on the head of Ioseph, and on the toppe of the head of him yt was separat from his brethern.	Disregards L's cor- rect translation. Follows L's fantastic conjecture. Independent in trans- lating נזיר.
Dt. 32: 4	הצור תמים פעלו כי כל־ דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול צדיק וישר הוא:	θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρί- σεις· θεὸς πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδι- κία· δίκαιος καὶ ὅσιος Κύριος.	Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus judicia; Deus fidelis, et absque ulla iniqui- tate, justus et rec- tus.	Of God perfit ben the werkys, and alle his weyes domes; a trewe God, and with outen eny wickidnes, rygt wis and euen.	The werkis of God ben perfit, and alle hise weies ben domes; God is feithful, and with- out ony wickid- nesse; God is iust and rigtful.	Er ist ein Felsz | seine Werck sind unsträfflich	Denn alles was er thut das ist recht. Trew ist Gott | und kein böses an jm	Gerecht und fromb ist er.	He is a rocke and perfecte are his deades, for all his wayes are with dis- crecion. God is faithfull and with- out wekednesse, both rightuous and juste is he.	Avoids the bold Heb. figure. His para- phrase is independ- ent.
5	שחת לו לא בניו מומם דור עקש ופתלתל:	ἡμάρτοσαν, οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα, μωμητά γε- νεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διε- στραμμένη.	Peccaverunt ei, et non filii ejus in sordibus; genera- tio prava atque perversa.	Thei han synned to hym, and not his sones in filthis; shrewid kynred, and mysturnyd.	Thei synneden agens hym, and not hise sones in filthis, that is, of idolatrie; schrewid and wai- ward generacioun.	Die verkehrete und böse art sellet von jm ab	Sie sind Schandtflecken	 und nicht seine Kinder.	The frowarde and ouerthwarte gen- eracion hath marred them selues to himward, and are not his sonnes for their deform- ities sake,	Independent render- ing of מומם, in keeping with the context, which L's is not.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32: 7	זכר ימות עולם בינו שנות דר ודר שאל אביך ויגדך זקניך ויאמרו־לך:	μνήσθητε ἡμέρας αἰῶνος, σύνετε ἔτη γενεῶν γενεᾶς ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι· τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου, καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι.	Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas; interroga patrem tuum, et annunciabit tibi; majores tuos, et dicent tibi:	Haue mynde of olde dayes, and thenk eche generaciouns; aske thi fader, and he shal telle to thee, thi more, and thei shulen seie to thee.	Haue thou minde of elde daies, thenke thou alle generaciouns; axe thi fadir, and he schal telle to thee, axe thi grettere men, and thei schulen seie to thee.	Bedenck der vorigen Zeit bisz daher | und betracht was er gethan hat an den alten Vättern | Frage deinen Vatter | der wirdt dirs verkündigen | deine Eltesten | die werden dirs sagen.	Remembre the dayes that are past: consydre the yeres from tyme to tyme. Axe thy father and he will shewe the, thyne elders and they wyll tell the.	Independent, nearer literal than L.
8	בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני ישראל:	ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.	Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separabat filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.	Whanne deuydide the higest folkis of kynde, whanne he seuerde the sones of Adam, he sette the teermys of puplis after the noumbre of the sones of Yrael.	Whanne the higeste departide folkis, whanne he departide the sones of Adam, he ordeynede the termis of puplis bi the noumbre of the sones of Israel.	Da der Allerhöhest die Völcker zertheilet | und zerstrewet der Menschen Kinder. Da setzt er die Grentzen der Völcker | nach der zahl der Kinder Israel.	When the most hyghest gaue the nacyons an enheritaunce, and diuided the sonnes of Adam he put the borders of the nacions, fast by the multitude of the childern of Israel.	Independent and wrong.
10	ימצאהו בארץ מדבר ובתהו ילל ישמן יסבבנהו יבוננהו יצרנהו כאישון עינו:	αὐτάρκησεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν δίψει καύματος, ἐν γῇ ἀνύδρῳ· ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὸν, καὶ διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόραν ὀφθαλμοῦ·	Invenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horrorris et vastae solitudinis, circumduxit eum et docuit; et custodivit quasi pupillam oculi sui;	He foond hym in a deseert loond, in place of orrour, and of waast wildernes; he ladde hym aboute, and taugte, and kept as the apple of his eye.	The Lord foond hym in a deseert lond, in the place of orrour, and of wast wildirnesse; the Lord ledde hym aboute, and taugte hym, and kepte as the apple of his ige.	Er fandt jn in der Wüsten | in der dürrem Einöde | da es heulet. Er führet jn | und gab jm das Gesetz | Er behütet jn wie sein Augapffel.	He founde him in a deserte londe, in a voyde ground and a rorynge wildernesse. he led him aboute and gaue him vnderstondynge, and kepte him as the aple of his eye.	Follows L. Independent, a good rendering.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32:11	כנשר יעיר קנו על־גוזליו ירחם יפרש כנפיו יקחהו ישאהו על־אברתו׃	ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόθησεν, διεὶς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο αὐ- τούς, καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν με- ταφρένων αὐτοῦ.	Sicut aquila provo- cans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos volitans, expandit alas suas, et assumsit eum, atque portavit in humeris suis.	As an egle forth- clepynge his bryddis to flee, and on hem houynge, he sprade out his weengis, and took to hym, and beer in his shuldres.	As an egle stirynge his briddis to fle, and fleynge on hem, he spredde forth his wyngis, and took hem, and bar in hise schul- dris.	Wie ein Adeler auszführet seine Jungen | und ober jnen schwebet, Er breitet seine Fittich ausz | und nam jn | und trug sie auff seinen Flügeln.	As an egle that stereth vpp hyr nest and flotereth ouer hyr younge, he stretched oute his wynges and toke hym vpp and bare hym on his shul- ders.	Independent, literal rendering of Heb.
13	ירכבהו על־ במותי ארץ ויאכל תנובת שדי וינקהו דבש מסלע ושמן מחלמיש צור׃	ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς γῆς, ἐψώμισεν αὐ- τοὺς γενήματα ἀγρῶν. ἐθήλασαν μέλι ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας·	Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fruc- tus agrorum, ut sugeret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo;	He sette hym on an hige erthe, that he mygte ete the fruytis of feeldes, that he mygte sowke hony of the stoon, and oyle of the moost hard stone;	The Lord ordeynede hym on an hig lond, that he schulde ete the fruytis of feeldis, that he schulde souke hony of a stoon, and oile of the hardeste roche;	Er liesz in hoch her fahren auff Erden | und nehret jn mit den Früchten desz Feldes. Und liesz jn Honig sougen ausz den Felsen | und Oel ausz den harten Steinen.	He sett him vpp apon an hye londe, and he ate the encrease of the feldes. And he gaue him honye to sucke out of the rocke, and oyle out of the harde stone.	Follows Heb. V in- stead of L.
14	חמאת בקר וחלב צאן עם־חלב כרים ואילים בני־ בשן ועתודים עם־חלב כליות חטה ודם־ענב תשתה־חמר׃	βούτυρον βοῶν καὶ γάλα προβάτων μετὰ στέατος νε- φρῶν πυροῦ, καὶ αἷμα σταφυλῆς ἔπιεν οἶνον,	Butyrum de armento, et lac de ovibus cum adipe agno- rum, et arietum filiorum Basan; et hircos cum medul- la tritici, et san- guinem uvae bi- beret meracissi- mum.	Butre of the droue, and mylk of sheep, with the tolwg of loombs and of wethers, of the sonès of Basan; and goot with margh of whete, and blood of grapis mygte drynk moost cleer.	Botere of the droue and mylke of scheep, with the fatnesse of lam- bren and of ram- mes, of the sones of Basan; and that he schulde ete kydis with the merowe of wheete, and schulde drynke the cleerest blood of grape.	Butter von den Kühen | und Milch von Schafen | samt dem fetten von den Lämern. Und feiszte Wider und Böcke mit fetten Nieren | und Weytzen | und trdäncket jn mit gutem Trauben- blut.	With butter of the kyne and mylke of the shepe, with fatt of the lambes ad fatt rammes and he gootes with fatt kydneyes and with whete. And of the bloude of grapes thou dronkest wyne.	Follows L in omit- ting בני־בשן.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32:15	וישמן ישרון ויבעט שמנת עבית כשית ויטש אלוה עשהו וינבל צור ישעתו׃	καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακὼβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος, ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη· καὶ ἐγκατέλιπεν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπέστη, ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ.	Incrassatus est dilectus, et recalcitravit, incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo salutari suo.	Ful fat maad is the loued, and agen wynsed; fulfullid, fulgresid, outlargid; he laft God his maker, and geed abak fro God, his gyuer of heelth.	The loued pople was maad fat, and kikide agen; maad fat withoutforth, maad fat with ynne, and alargid; he forsook God his makere, and gede awei fro God his helthe.	Da er aber fett und satt ward | ward er Geyl. Er ist fett und dick undstarck worden. Und hat den Gott fahren lassen | der jn gemacht hat. | Er hat den Felsz seines Heyls geringe geachtet.	And Israel waxed fatt and kyked. Thou wast fatt, thicke and smothe, And he let God goo that made him and despysed the rocke that saued him.	Paraphrases ישרון instead of any of the alternatives of LXX V L.
17	יזבחו לשדים לא אלה אלהים לא ידעום חדשים מקרב באו לא שערום אבתיכם׃	ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ, θεοῖς οἷς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν· καινοὶ πρόσφατοι ἥκασιν, οὓς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.	Immolaverunt daemoniis, et non Deo, diis, quos ignorabant; novi recentesque venerunt, quos non coluerunt patres eorum.	Thei offriden to deuels, and not to God, to goddis the whiche thei knewen not; newe and fresshe camen, the which heryeden not the faders of hem.	Thei offriden to feendis, and not to God, to goddis whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and freisch camen, whiche the fadris of hem worschipiden not.	Sie haben den Feldteuffeln geopffert | und nicht jrem Gott | den Göttern die sie nicht kenneten | Den neuwers | die vor nich gewest sind | die ewere Vätter nicht geehret haben.	They offered vnto feldedeuels and not to God, and to goddes which they knewe not and to newe goddes that came newly vpp whiche their fathers feared not.	Adopts L's word.
24	מזי רעב ולחמי רשף וקטב מריררי ושדי־בהמת אשלח־בם עם־חמת זחלי עפר׃	τηκόμενοι λιμῷ καὶ βρώσει ὀρνέων, καὶ ὀπισθότονος ἀνίατος· ὀδόντας θηρίων ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτούς, μετὰ θυμοῦ συρόντων ἐπὶ γῆν.	Consumentur fame, et devorabunt eos aves morsu amarissimo; dentes bestiarum immittam in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque serpentium.	Thei shulen be wastid with hungir, and briddis shulen deuour hem in biting moost bitter; teeth of bistis I shal sende in hem, with woodnes of hem drawinge on erthe, and crepinge.	Thei schulen be waastid with hungur, and briddis schulen deuoure hem with bitteriste bityng; Y schal sende in to hem the teeth of beestis, with the woodnesse of wormes drawynge on erthe and of serpentis.	Für Hunger sollen sie verschmachten | und verzehret werden vom Fieber und jehem Tod. Ich wil der Thier Zehne unter sie schicken | und Schlangengift.	Burnt with hungre ād consumed with heet and with bitter pestilence. I will also sende the tethe of beestes vpon them and poyson serpentes.	Independent and wrong. Follows L in omitting עפר but turns "Schlangengift" around.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32:25	מחוץ תשכל־ חרב ומהדרים אימה גם־בחור גם־בתולה יונק עם־איש שיבה:	ἔξωθεν ἀτεκνώσει αὐτοὺς μάχαιρα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ταμείων φόβας· νεανίσκος σὺν παρθένῳ, θηλάζων μετὰ καθεστηκότος πρεσβύτου.	Foris vastabit eos gladius et intus pavor juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem cum homine sene.	With out forth shal waast hem swerd, and with yn forth dreed; the gong to gidre and mayden, the sowkynge with the old man.	Swerd with outforth and drede with ynne schal waaste hem; a gong man and a virgyn to gidre, a soukynge child with an elde man.	Auszwendig wirt sie das Schwerdt berauben | und inwendig das schrecken | beyde Jünglinge und Jungkfrauwen die Säuglinge mit dem grauwen Mann.	Without forth, the swerde shall robbe thē off theire children: and wythin in the chamber, feare: both younge men and younge wemen and the suckelynges with the mē of gray heedes.	Independent, literal, and vivid.
26	אמרתי אפאיהם אשביתה מאנוש זכרם:	εἶπα Διασπερῶ αὐτούς, παύσω δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν·	Dixi: Ubinam sunt? cessare faciam ex hominibus memoriam eorum.	And I seide, Where forsothe ben thei? to ceese Y shal maak fro men the mynde of hem.	And Y seide, where ben thei? Y schal make the mynde of hem to cesse of men.	Ich wil sagen: Wo sind sie? Ich werde jr gedächtnisz auffheben unter dē Menschen.	I haue determened to scater thē therowout the worlde, ād to make awaye the remēbraunce of them from amonge men.	Follows LXX, paraphrasing slightly; rejects the erroneous rendering of V (H P) L.
27	לולי כעס אויב אגור פן־ינכרו צרימו פן־יאמרו ידנו רמה ולא יהוה פעל כל־זאת:	εἰ μὴ δι' ὀργὴν ἐχθρῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακροχρονίσωσιν, ἵνα μὴ συνεπιθῶνται οἱ ὑπεναντίοι· μὴ εἶπωσιν Ἡ χεὶρ ἡμῶν ἡ ὑψηλὴ καὶ οὐχὶ Κύριος ἐποίησεν ταῦτα πάντα.	Sed propter iram inimicorum distuli, ne forte superbirent hostes eorum, et dicerent: Manus nostra excelsa, et non Dominus, fecit haec omnia.	But for the wrath of enemyes I lafte for a while, lest perauenture wolden wexe prowde the enemyes of hem, and seye, Oure hige hoond, and not the Lord, hath doon alle thes thingis.	But Y delayede for the yre of enemyes, lest perauenture the enemyes of hem shulden be proude, and seie, Oure hig hond, and not the Lord, dide alle these thingis.	Wenn ich nit den zorn der Feinde scheuwete | dasz nicht jre Feinde stoltz würden | un möchten sagen: Unser Macht ist hoch | und der Herr hat nicht solches alles gethan.	Were it not that I feared the raylynge off theyr enemyes, lest theire aduersaries wolde be prowde and saye: oure hye hande hath done al these workes and not the Lorde.	Rejects L's loose paraphrase
28	כי־גוי אבר עצות המה ואין בהם תבונה:	ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκὸς βουλὴν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη.	Gens absque consilio est, et sine prudentia.	Folk with out counseil it is, and with out wisdom;	It is a folk without counsel and without prudence;	Denn es ist ein Volck | da kein Rath inn ist | und ist kein Verstandt in jnen.	For it is a nacion that hath an vnhappye forcast, and hath no vnderstonge in them.	Independent and wrong

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32:35	לי נקם ושלם לעת תמוט רגלם כי קרוב יום אידם וחש עתדת למו:	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα ἀπωλίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάρεστιν ἕτοιμα ὑμῖν·	Mea est ultio, et Ego retribuam in tempore, ut labatur pes eorum, juxta est dies perditionis, et adesse festinant tempora.	Myn is veniaunce, and Y shal geeld to hem in tyme, that the foot of hem slyde; nyg is the day of perdicioun, and to be nyg higen the tymes.	Veniaunce is myn, and I schal gelde to hem in tyme, that the foot of hem slide; the dai of perdicioun is nyg, and tymes hasten to be present.	Die Rache ist mein	Ich wil vergelten	zu seiner Zeit sol jr Fusz gleiten	Denn die zeit jres unglücks ist nahe	und jr künfftiges eylet herzu.	Vengeaunce is myne and I will reward: their fete shall slyde, when the tyme cometh. For the tyme of their destruction is at honde, and the tyme that shall come vppon them maketh hast.	Follows L, wrong
36	כי־ידין יהוה עמו ועל־ עבדיו יתנחם כי יראה כי־אזלת יד ואפס עצור ועזוב:	ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται· ἰδὲν γὰρ παραλελυμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκλελοιπότας ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ καὶ παρειμένους.	Judicabit Dominus populum suum, et in servis suis miserebitur; videbit quod infirmata sit manus, et clausi quoque defecerunt, residuique consumti sunt.	The Lord shal deme his puple, and in his seruauntis he shal haue mercy; he shal se that feble be the hoond, and closid forsothe han faylid, and the lafte ben wastid	The Lord schal deme his puple, and he schal do merci in hise seruauntis; the puple schal se that the hond of figteres is sijk, and also men closid failiden, and the residues ben waastid.	Denn der Herr wirt sein Volck richten	Und uber seine Knechte wirt er sich erbarmen.	For the Lorde will doo justice vnto hys people, and haue compassion on his servauntes. For it shalbe sene that theire power shall fayle, and at the last they shalbe presoned and forsaken.	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
39	ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי אני אמית ואחיה מחצתי ואני ארפא ואין מידי מציל:	ἴδετε ἴδετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ ἀποκτέννω καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω· πατάξω, κἀγὼ ἰάσομαι· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.	Videte, quod Ego sim solus, et non sit alius Deus praeter Me; Ego occidam, et Ego vivere faciam; percutiam, et Ego sanabo; et non est, qui de manu Mea possit eruere?	Seeth that Y am alone, and there is noon other God saue me; I shal slee, and I shal maak to lyue; Y shal smyte, and I shal heel; and there is not that fro myn hoond may delyuer.	Se ge that Y am aloone, and noon other God is outakun me; Y schal sle, and Y schal make to lyue; Y schal smyte, and Y schal make hool; and noon is that may delyuere fro myn hond.	Sehet jr nun	dasz ichs allein bin	Und ist kein Gott neben mir? Ich kan tödten und lebendig machen	Ich kan schlahen und kan heylen	und ist niemand der ausz meiner Hand errette.	Se now howe that I, I am he, and that there is no God but I. I can kyll and make alyue, ād what I haue smyten that I can heale: nether ys there that can delyuer any man oute off my honde.	Follows L.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 32:43	הרנינו גוים עמו כי דם־ עבדיו יקום ונקם ישיב לצריו וכפר אדמתו עמו:	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ υἱοὶ θεοῦ· εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται, καὶ ἐκδικήσει, καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει, καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.	Laudate gentes populum ejus, quia sanguinem servorum suorum ulciscetur, et vindictam retribuet in hostes eorum, et propitius erit Terrae populi sui.	Preyse ge gentils, the puple of hym, for the blood of his seruauntis he shal wreek, and venounce he shal quyte into the enemyes of hem, and he shal be merciful to the erthe of his puple.	Folkis, preise ge the puplis of hym, for he schal venie the blood of his seruauntis, and he schal gelde veniaunce in to the enemyes of hem; and he schal be merciful to the lond of his puple.	Jauchtzet alle ‖ die jr sein Volck seyt ‖ Denn er wil das Blut seine Knechte rechen. Und wirt sich an seinen Feinden rechen un gnädig seyn dem Lande seines Volcks.	Reioyse hethen wyth hys people, for he will auenge the bloude off his servauntes, and wyll auenge hym off hys aduersaryes, and wilbe mercyfull vnto the londe off hys people.	Independent and wrong (though this reading is adopted by the Revisers)
33:3	אם חבב עמים כל־ קדשיו בידך והם תכו לרגלך ישא מדברתיך:	καὶ ἐφείσατο τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς σου· καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ σέ εἰσιν, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ,	Dilexit populos, omnes sancti in manu illius sunt, et qui appropinquant pedibus ejus, accipient de doctrina illius.	He louede puples; alle seyntis in the hoond of hym ben, and that neigen to the feet of hym, shulen taak of the loor of hym.	He louede puplis; alle seyntis ben in his hond, and thei that neigen to his feet schulen take of his doctryn.	Wie hat er die Leute so lieb? Alle seine Heyligen sind in deiner Hand ‖ Sie werden sich setzen zu deinen Füszen ‖ un werden lehrnen von deinen worten.	How loued he the people? All his sayntes are in his honde. They yoyned themselues vnto thy fote and receaued thi wordes.	Follows L in making אם interrogative. Follows V (H P) against Heb. LXX L.
5	ויהי בישרון מלך בהתאסף ראשי עם יחד שבטי ישראל:	καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἄρχων, συναχθέντων ἀρχόντων λαῶν ἅμα φυλαῖς Ἰσραήλ.	Erit apud rectissimum rex, congregatis principibus populi cum tribubus Israel.	And there shal be anentis the moost rigta kyng, the princis of the puple gedrid with the lynagis of Yrael.	And the king schal be at the moost rigtful, whanne princes of the puple schulen be gaderid togidere with the lynagis of Israel.	Und er verwaltet das Ampt eines Königes ‖ und hielt zusammen die Häupter desz Volcks ‖ sampt den Stämmen Israel.	And he was in Israel kinge when he gathered the heedes of the people and the tribes of Israel to gether.	Renders ישרן as before.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 33: 6	יחי ראובן ואל־ימת ויהי מתיו מספר:	Ζήτω Ῥουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω, καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ.	Vivat Ruben, et non moriatur, et sit parvus in numero.	Lyue Ruben, and dye he not, and be he litil in noumbre.	Ruben lyue, and die not, and be he litel in noumbre.	Ruben lebe und sterbe nicht | und sein Pöbel sey gering.	Ruben shall lyue and shall not dye: but his people shalbe few in numbre.	Future for imperative; independent, wrong.
8	וללוי אמר תמיך ואוריך לאיש חסידך אשר נסיתו במסה תריבהו על־מי מריבה:	Καὶ τῷ Λευεὶ εἶπεν Δότε Λευεὶ δήλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ὁσίῳ, ὃν ἐπείρασαν αὐτὸν ἐν Πείρᾳ, ἐλοιδόρησαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὕδατος Ἀντιλογίας.	Levi quoque ait: Perfectio tua, et doctrina tua viro sancto tuo, quem probasti in tentatione, et judicasti ad aquas Contradictionis.	Forsothe to Leuy he seith, Thi perfeccioun and thi loor fro thin hooli man, whom thow hast preued in temptacioun, and hast demed at the Watris of Agenseinynge;	Also he seide to Leuy, Thi perfeccioun and thi techyng is of an hooly man, whom thou preuedist in temptacioun and demedist at the Watris of Agenseiynge;	Und zu Leui sprach er. Dein Ruch und dein Liecht bleibe bey deinem heyligen Mann | den du versucht hast zu Massa | da jr hadertet an Haderwasser.	And vnto Leui he sayed: thy perfectnesse ad thi light be after thy mercifull ma who thou temptest at Masa ad with whom thou striuedst at the waters of strife.	Independent, wrong.
13	וליוסף אמר מברכת יהוה ארצו ממגד שמים מטל ומתהום רבצת תחת:	Καὶ τῷ Ἰωσὴφ εἶπεν Ἐπ' εὐλογίας Κυρίου ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὡρῶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ δρόσου, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβύσσων πηγῶν κάτωθεν,	Joseph quoque ait: de benedictione Domini terra ejus, de pomis caeli, et rore, atque abysso subjacente: de pomis fructuum solis ac lunae;	Forsothe to Joseph he seith, Of the blessynge of the Lord the loond of hym; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of the see underligging; of applis of the fruyt of sunne, and of mone;	Also he seide to Joseph, His lond is of the Lordis blessying; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of watir liggynge bynethe. of the applis of fruytes of the sunne and moone;	Und zu Joseph sprach er: Sein Land ligt im Segen dess Herrn | Da sind edle Früchte von den Sonnen | und edle reiffe Früchte der Monden.	And vnto Joseph he sayed: blessed of the Lorde is his londe with the goodly frutes off heauen, with dewe and with sprynges that lye beneth: And with frutes of the encrease of the sonne and wyth rype frute off the monethes, and with the toppes of mountaynes that were from the begynnynge and with the dayntes of hilles that last euer and	L omits these clauses but T renders them complete.
14	וממגד תבואת שמש וממגד גרש ירחים:	καὶ καθ' ὥραν γενημάτων ἡλίου τροπῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ συνόδων μηνῶν,						
15	וממראש הררי־קדם וממגד גבעות עולם:	ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ὀρέων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς βουνῶν ἀενάων,	De vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis collium aeternorum,	And of the cop of the oold mounteyns, and of applis of euerlastynge hillis;	of the coppe of elde munteyns, and of the applis of euerlastynge litle hillis;	Und von den hohen Bergen gegen Morgen | und von den Hügeln für und für | und edlen.		An improbable conjecture. Does not follow L's conjecture.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 33:16	וממגד ארץ ומלאה ורצון שכני סנה תבואתה לראש יוסף ולקדקד נזיר אחיו:	καὶ καθ' ὥραν γῆς πληρώσεως· καὶ τὰ δεκτὰ τῷ ὀφθέντι ἐν τῷ βάτῳ ἐλθοισαν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῆς Δοξασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀδελφοῖς.	et de frugibus terrae, et de plenitudine ejus; benedictio Illius, qui apparuit in rubo, veniat super caput Joseph, et super verticem nazaraei inter fratres suos.	And of fruytis of the erthe, and plente of it. Blessynge of hym that aperyde in the busshe come vpon the heed of Joseph, und vpon the fortop of Nazarey among his bretheren.	and of the fruytis of the lond, and of the fulnesse thereof. The blessyng of hym that apperide in the busch come on the heed of Joseph, and on the cop of Nazarey among his bretheren.	Früchten von der Erden | und was drinnen ist. Die Grade desz | der in dem Busch wohnete | komme auff das Haupt Joseph | und auff den Scheytel desz Nasir unter seinen Brüdern.	With goodly frute of the erth and off the fulnesse there of. And the good will of him that dwelleth in the bush shall come vppon the heed of Joseph and vppon the toppe of the heed of him that was separated from amonge his bretheren	Translates נזיר again.
17	בכור שורו הדר לו וקרני ראם קרניו בהם עמים ינגח יחדו אפסי־ארץ הם רבבות אפרים והם אלפי מנשה:	πρωτότοκος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, κέρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ; ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη κερατιεῖ ἅμα ἕως ἐπ' ἄκρου γῆς. αὗται μυριάδες Ἐφράιμ, καὶ αὗται χιλιάδες Μανασσή.	Quasi primogeniti tauri pulchritudo ejus, cornua rhinocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos Terrae; hae sunt multitudines Ephraim, et haec millia Manasse.	As of the first goten bool the feirnes of hym; hornes of an vnicorn the hornes of him, in hem he shal wyndowe gentilys, vnto the teermes of the erthe. Thes ben the multitudys of Effraym, and thes thousandis of manasse,	As the first gendrid of a bole is the feirnesse of hym; the hornes of an vnicorn ben the hornes of hym; in tho he schal wyndene folkis, til to the termes of erthe. These ben the multitudis of Effraym, aud these ben the thousyndis of Manasses.	Seine Herrligkeit ist wie ein Erstgeborner Ochse | und seine Hörner sind wie Einhörners Hörner. Mit denselbigen wirt er die Völcker stossen zuhauff | bisz an des Landes ende | Das sind die tausend Ephraim | und die tausend Manasse.	His bewtye is as a firstborne oxe and his hornes as the hornes of an vnycorne. And with them he shall push the nacions together, euen vnto the endes of the worlde. These are the many thousandes of Ephraim and the thousandes off Manasse.	Follows V L which do not strictly render the Heb.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 33:20	ולגר אמד ברוך מרחיב גד כלביא שכן וטרף זרוע אף־ קדקד:	Καὶ τῷ Γὰδ εἶπεν Εὐλογημένος ἐμπλατύνων Γάδ· ὡς λέων ἀνεπαύσατο, συντρίψας βραχίονα καὶ ἄρχοντα.	Et Gad ait: Benedictus in latitudine Gad; quasi leo requievit, cepitque brachium et verticem.	And to Gad he seith, Blessid in breede Gad, as a lioun he restide, and he took arme and fortop.	And he seide to Gad, Gad is blessid in broodnesse; he restide as a lioun, and he took the arm and the nol.	Und zu Gad sprach er: Gad sey gesegnet der Raummacher. Er ligt wie ein Löuw | und raubet den Arm und die Scheytel.	And vnto Gad he sayed: blessed is the rowmmaker Gad. He dwelleth as a lion and caught the arme ād also the toppe of the heed.	Adopts L's word.
21	וירא ראשית לן כי־שם חלקת מחקק ספון ויתא ראשי עם צדקת יהוה עשה ומשפטיו עם־ישראל:	καὶ ἴδεν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐμερίσθη γῆ ἀρχόντων, συνηγμένων ἅμα ἀρχηγοῖς λαῶν· δικαιοσύνην Κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρίσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραήλ.	Et vidit principatum suum, quod in parte sua doctor esset repositus, qui fuit cum principibus populi, et fecit justitias Domini, et judicium suum cum Israel.	And he saug his prynsehod, that in his paart a doctour he was seid up; the which was with princis of puple, and dide rigtwisnesses of the Lord, and hys doom with Yrael.	And he sig his prinshed, that the techere was kept in his part; which Gad was with the princes of the puple, and dide the rigtfulnesses of the Lord, and his doom with Israel.	Und er sahe daz jm ein Haupt gegeben war | ein Lehrer der verborgen ist | welcher kam mit dem Obersten desz Volcks | und verschafft die Gerechtigkeit desz Herrn | und seine Rechte an Israel.	He sawe his begynnynge, that a parte of the teachers were hyd there ād come with the heedes of the people, and executed the righteousnes of the Lorde and his iudgementes with Israel.	In this corrupt passage we can only say that T had his own guess, which is no better and no worse than the rest.
25	ברזל ונחשת מנעלך וכימיך דבאך:	σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ ἔσται, ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι σου ἡ ἰσχύς σου,	Ferrum et aes calceamentum ejus: Sicut dies juventutis tuae, ita et senectus tua	Yrun and bras the shoynge of him; as days of thi gougth so and thin eelde.	Yrun and bras the scho of hym; as the dai of thi gouth so and thin eelde.	Eysen und Ertz sey an seinen Schuhen | Dein Alter sey wie deine Jugend.	Yern and brasse shall hange on thi showes and thine age shalbe as thi youth.	Follows V H P L against Heb. LXX.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	Remarks
Dt. 33:26	אין כאל ישרון רכב שמים בעזרך ובגאותו שחקים:	οὐκ ἔστιν ὥσπέρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἠγαπημένου· ὁ ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν βοηθός σου, καὶ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τοῦ στερεώματος·	Non est Deus alius, ut Deus rectissimi; ascensor caeli auxiliator tuus. Magnificentia ejus discurrunt nubes,	There is noon other god as the moost rigt God; the stier of heuen thin helper, thurg the hidows doynge of hym to and fro rennen the clowdes.	Noon other god is as the God of the most rigtful; the stiere of heuene, thin helpere, cloudis rennen aboute bi the glorie of hym.	Es ist kein Gott	als der Gott desz Gerechten	der in Himmel sitzt	der sey deine Hülffe	und desz Herrligkeit in Wolcken ist	Das ist die		There is none like vnto the God of the off Israel: he that sitteth vppon heauen shalbe thine helpe, whose glorie is in the cloudes, that is the	Translates ישרן
27	מענה אלהי קדם ומתחת זרעת עולם ויגרש מפניך אויב ויאמר השמד:	καὶ σκεπάσει σε θεοῦ ἀρχή. καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχὺν βραχιόνων ἀενάων· ἐκβαλεῖ ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ἐχρόν, λέγων Ἀπόλοιο.	habitaculum ejus sursum, et subter brachia sempiterna; ejiciet a facie tua inimicum, dicetque: Conterere.			Wohnung Gottes von anfang	und unter den Armen ewiglich. Und er wirt für dir her deinen Feindt ausztreiben	und sagen	: Sey vertilget.	dwellinge place of God from the begynnynge and from vnder the armes of the worlde: he hath cast out thine enemics before the and sayed: destroye.	The passage puzzles all the translators. T follows L in the first clause, ventures into the realm of independent conjecture in the second, without conveying any intelligible meaning.
28	וישכן ישראל בטח בדד עין יעקב אל־ארץ דגן ותירוש אם־שמין יערפו־טל:	καὶ κατασκηνώσει Ἰσραὴλ πεποιθώς, μόνος ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰακώβ· ἐπὶ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ, καὶ ὁ οὐρανός σοι συννεφὴς δρόσῳ.	Habitabit Israel confidenter, et solus. Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini, caelique caligabunt rore.	Yrael shal dwelle trustilych, and aloone; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.	Israel schal dwelle trestele and aloone; the ige of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuenes schulen be derk with deu.	Israel wirt sicher allein wohnen	Der Brunn Jacob wirt seyn auff dem Lande da Korn und Most ist	dazu sein Himmel wirt mit Thaw trieffen.	And Israel shall dwell in saffetye alone, And the eyes of Iacob shall loke appon a londe of corne and wyne, moreouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.	Follows V against L.

From such comparisons, carried through the Pentateuch, we discover: (1) that Tyndale did not make a literal, unaided version from the Hebrew, as if no other translation existed; (2) that he did not modernize and revise the work of Nicholas de Hereford and John Purvey; (3) that he did not make a translation from the Vulgate and then revise it by comparison with the Hebrew and Luther's version.

1. If Tyndale had confined himself to the Hebrew, referring only occasionally to the Vulgate or Luther for help on obscure passages, we should expect only occasional coincidences of phraseology and interpretation with those versions, and these in places where some special reason for difficulty existed. But this is not the condition shown by the parallel versions. In simple narrative prose there is little room for alternative renderings, hence examples taken from such material yield negative results: if Tyndale in such chapters follows V and L closely, it is simply because they in turn follow the Hebrew closely, and no one can say in any given verse which text lay before Tyndale's eyes when he wrote his translation of it. But coincidences in such passages as the three poetic chapters quoted afford positive evidence of borrowing, not only in the difficult, but in the easy verses. A Hebrew sentence in the poetic style, even though not obscure, may be translated with many more chances of variety than a prose sentence; and a large proportion of agreements with Luther here cannot be accidental.

But the comparison of the versions, even in the few passages presented in the preceding pages, establishes beyond any question what has sometimes been seriously denied—that Tyndale did use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch. The cases where he, against all the versions, renders the Hebrew literally are not numerous, but they are incontrovertible. Evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Hebrew, drawn from his own autobiographical references in his writings, and in the glossaries of proper names attached to the books of the Pentateuch, may be held by some judges not conclusive as to anything more than a smattering of the language. But these cases of independent correct rendering from the Hebrew imply thorough study.

It is to be noted that Tyndale learned, either from Luther's version or from his own study, much of the correct syntax of dependent clauses introduced by *Waw*. He translates many of these more in accordance with the correct principles of rendering Semitic idiom into English than our English translators of later times have shown. He is generally right in his treatment of the Hebrew tenses, abandoning the slavish literalness

of the Septuagint and Vulgate;[1] though here again one must often admit his indebtedness to Luther. In common with the ancient versions and with Luther, he sometimes ignores the construct as shown by the pointing and the absence of the article, which seems a rather serious fault in a translator. One characteristic difference from Luther is that he retains certain Hebrew idioms which lend themselves well to rhythms of English style; for example, where the Hebrew would say "sacrifices of righteousness," Luther would make it perhaps "righteous sacrifices," but Tyndale would keep the construct with the abstract noun. One might trace this idiom from Tyndale's Pentateuch down through the later translators of the Old Testament into its many ramifications in English prose style.

Tyndale is too honest to slip out of a difficulty by a vague paraphrase, as Luther did. Examples of this are found in the chapters quoted. In few cases did Tyndale possess the scholarship to hit on the correct clue to a puzzle due to corrupt text or a *hapax legomenon;* but he at least has the courage to abandon Luther when the German translator merely blinked the difficulty. Sometimes he prefers in such cases to cling to the time-honored rendering of Jerome; sometimes he offers his own conjecture, which is often wrong. There is at least a measure of independence in this attitude.

Tyndale was a much better scholar in Greek than in Hebrew, and we should therefore expect extensive use of the Septuagint. There are sufficient data to prove that he consulted it constantly; but, after all, it afforded him comparatively little assistance, because the chief value of this version—as a guide in textual emendation—was unknown in Tyndale's day. There is no evidence in Tyndale's Pentateuch, so far as the present writer has discovered, that he ventured a single emendation of the Masoretic text on textual grounds.[2]

2. As to the use made of the Wiclifite versions, Tyndale's own declaration that he derived no aid from them is on the whole supported by the comparison. Both Hereford's and Purvey's versions are not only Middle English, thoroughly obsolete in 1529, but they are very crabbed and unidio-

[1] This knowledge he used in his translation of the New Testament Greek. "If ought seme chaunged, or not alto gether agreyng with the Greke, let the finder of the faute cōsider the Hebrue phrase, or maner of speache left in the Greke wordes. Whose preterperfectence and presentence is of both one, and the futurtence is the optative mode also, and the futurtence is of the imperative mode in the active voyce and in the passive ever. Like wise person for person, nombre for nōbre, and interrogative for a condicionall and suche lyke is with the Hebrues a comon usage." ("Preface to N. T., William Tindale unto the Christian Reader.")

[2] See, for example, Gen. 49:19.

matic Middle English, because copied bodily, and often unintelligently, from the Vulgate. The case is far different from that of Wiclif's own version of the New Testament, connection between which and Tyndale's New Testament is much closer, as has been shown by writers on that subject. Where we find coincidences of phrase between Tyndale's Pentateuch and the two fourteenth-century versions, we can usually trace them to the common Latin source. Occasionally a combination of words occurs which cannot be referred to such a source, and we are led to surmise that Tyndale's recollection of versions doubtless familiar to him in early life influenced him in the choice of a phrase; but these instances are not sufficiently numerous to establish any presumption that he had a manuscript of either version before him in Germany.

3. Nothing is made clearer by the comparison than that the Vulgate was not Tyndale's basis in his work. He was fond of saying that Hebrew was much more like English than it was like Latin; and, indeed, he showed in many little ways that he had no love for the official ecclesiastical version. If he had worked directly and primarily from it, he could not have avoided many Latin idioms, especially in the syntax, which are absent from his translation. While no doubt influenced by the Vulgate in the choice of words, such as "create," "firmament," and many more, it is most certainly not the text from which he directly translated.

The conclusion at which we arrive, therefore, by the process of exclusion, is that Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detected Luther in an evasion; that he carried into this work the same principle already established in his New Testament, of making an idiomatic English work in the language of the common people rather than of the learned; transferring such Semitic idioms as approved themselves to him as easily understood and more vigorous than paraphrase.

It has been pointed out, in the earlier part of this paper, that the unhappy fate by which Tyndale's Old Testament was cut off so near the beginning should not detract from the honor due to him as the father of Hebrew scholarship among Englishmen, and the author of the first version in English made from the Hebrew. To attempt to estimate his influence on the style of the men who completed the Old Testament after his death would lead us too far into the realm of conjecture. It will suffice to insist

that in the year 1529 there were many different ways of translating the five books of Moses, any one of which might have been adopted by an Englishman with Tyndale's equipment; many styles, most of which would have been Latinized, cumbrous, and periphrastic; and that of all these the one which we find in our Bible today is the style of Tyndale, which no Englishman had used before him. Whether one should call this a case of direct literary lineage, or should rather refer it to widely diffused linguistic influences which brought about a great change between the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century, is a matter of opinion. If we bring into our field of view at this point Tyndale's New Testament, the popularity and influence of which were so much greater, there can remain no doubt that the martyr of Vilvorde deserves the pre-eminent rank so often accorded to Coverdale and the bishops who entered into the reward of his heroic labors.

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